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Japanese Criticisms and Refutations of Christianity in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

BY MASAHARU ANESAKI, D. LITT.

I

Attacks Upon Christianity and the First Book of Its Refutation

It is a well-known fact that St. Francis Xavier and his disciples directed fierce attacks upon Buddhism and Buddhist priests. The sharpest contrast drawn between the two religions amounted to the refutation that Buddhism, particularly Zen Buddhism, was sheer nihilism and that its defect of moral idea ran to an extreme of naturalism. Besides the materials concerning these polemics and debates to be collected from the reports and other writings of the missionaries, there is a Kirishitan book of refutation of Buddhism, Shinto and Confucianism, written by Fabian, the ex-monk of Zen and Irman, published in 1605. Here we are not concerned with Christian polemics against other religions but we should note that there is another writing by Fabian who, later, an apostate, wrote a refutation of Christianity and used nearly the same materials and points emphasized in the former book for his attacks upon Christianity.

At any rate it is quite remarkable that no Buddhist or Confucianist wrote any essay or book of polemics before Fabian the apostate's writing, which was published in 1620. However, there were three cases which may be regarded as exceptions to the above statement. The first was the proclamation of Hideyoshi against Kirishitan missions issued in 1587. The first clause of the edict expressed the Shinto idea that Japan was the land of the gods, and that Japan could not tolerate a religion denouncing the national deities as false ones. The writer was Yakuin Zenso or Tokun (藥院全宗德運), the secretary to Hideyoshi and an ex-monk of Hiei-zan, and his emphasis on the national gods was not an independent Shinto tenet but an expression of the prevailing syncretic Buddhico-Shinto idea. Similar was the case with Iyeyasu's proclamation of 1614, in which the allied forces of the three Japanese religions were directed against Christianity. The writer was Suden (崇傳), a Zen monk and adviser to Iyeyasu, for whom Buddhist transcendentalism was the fundamental tenet, who yet combined with it Shinto as the worship of the national gods

and Confucianism as a subsidiary teaching of social ethics.

Eight years before this proclamation an encounter took place between Fabian, referred to above, and a young Confucianist Hayashi Razan (林羅山), who became later another adviser to Iyeyasu and the leader of the orthodox Confucianism adopted by the Government as the official teaching for the Samurai class. One summer day in 1606 Razan called on Fabian at the church in Miyako, accompanied by his brother and a Japanese scholar who was acquainted with Fabian. According to Razan's notes, he first asked questions about the images in the Church, but Fabian gave no reply, "perhaps because he was afraid of his answers being regarded as childish." Then the talk turned to the terrestrial globe posted in the room, and Razan's impression was that the "Kirishitan cosmology was simply absurd and ridiculous because it amounted to denying the stability of the earth and to mixing up east and west." On being shown a prism and sunlight passing through it and also a lens, Razan thought them nothing but devices for captivating popular fancy, so contrary to Confucian principles. But the chief point in the discussion turned about the priority of Kirishitan Deus or Confucian Li.⁽¹⁾ According to Razan the Li, or Reason, the self-sustaining principle of existence, was the primary basis, and should a God have created anything He could not have done so but by the virtue of the Li. The discussion grew so heated about this that Fabian ridiculed the young Confucianists as mere youngsters who could not comprehend the mysteries of God, while Razan's brother scolded Fabian as a devil of pride. The heated discussion came to an end when a thunderstorm caused their talk to stop. However, Razan never published his notes about the meeting but his writings were collected and published fourteen years after his death. Yet certainly Razan cherished a bitter opposition to the Kirishitans after this encounter, and we can imagine what advice he gave to Iyeyasu when he was made his Court scholar and teacher.

Shortly after this meeting Fabian apostatized and lived in seclusion for some time. Though the occasion remains entirely obscure, he published his attacks upon Christianity in 1620. Fabian's book bears the title Ha-Deus (破提字子) (Refutations of the Deus Religion) and is not only the first but the only book of the kind ever printed.⁽²⁾ Fabian's attack was

(1) Apparently Razan had prepared himself by studying the Chinese writings of Matteo Ricci 利.

(2) The first edition was printed on wooden blocks in Miyako, of which a facsimile edition was made by the Osaka Mainichi in 1929. We cannot ascertain how widely it was circulated, but there are only three extant copies of the original edition. A new edition was made in 1868 by the Reverend Mr. Ukai, and another in 1927 by Professor Shimmura.

chiefly based on Buddhism more or less combined with Confucian ethics, and his division of Christian doctrines into seven sections became a model for those who followed in his steps. In fact, no Japanese thinker seems to have seriously studied Christian doctrine until Fabian's book gave a clue and impetus to it. Fabian says in his introductory remarks that Kirishitan propaganda could not be effectively checked because Japanese scholars and religionists make their vain assaults with little real knowledge of its teachings. Therein he showed his pride, but it was not mere vanity, because Confucian refutations on the basis of merely practical social bearings, particularly of their bureaucratic ideas, little touched the hearts of the people, nor did any Confucianist try to reach the people at large.

Fabian stated in each section so much Christian teaching that later he was suspected of having written his book only in disguise under the cover of refutation but in reality with the intention of propagating Christian doctrine. But that this was not true can be seen from his refutations and more particularly from his confession of the reason why he had deserted the Church. Of this last point we shall speak at the end of our review of Fabian's book.

The first section is devoted to the doctrine of God, His existence, His attributes, His justice and charity ; in short, that God is the source of all. Fabian refutes each of these points, but the principle underlying all his remarks is the Buddhist doctrine of the Dharma-kaya, which he nearly identifies with the Confucian Li. In other words, Fabian thinks that the eternal and self-sustaining Dharma-kaya or Tathata is sufficient for explaining all the existence and functions and therefore to postulate a personal creator is redundant or absurd. But his own stand is neither uniform nor firm, because he adopts the syncretic Shinto view in combating the Kirishitan accusation that the Japanese gods or Buddhas are merely human beings and not worthy of worship. Lastly, he tries to prove the impotence of Deus by citing the instances of those Kirishitan nobles and rich merchants who lost their properties and lives on account of their faith.

The second section treats of the doctrine of the soul, the distinction of the *anima*, *vegetativa*, *sensitiva* and *rationalis*, together with the immortality of the human soul and its eternal reward or punishment. Against these teachings Fabian takes the standpoint of the Buddhist doctrine of the oneness of all souls, but he simply speaks in metaphor when he tries to explain why and how that oneness differentiates into many, the metaphor of water changing forms according to the vessels. He cites

also the Confucian distinction of the *Doshin* (the soul of the reason) and the *Jinshin* (the soul of human weakness), simply saying that this is much more reasonable than the Christian distinction of three kinds. Fabian's criticism of the Christian doctrine of future life is that an eternal punishment is unworthy of a merciful God, but he does not touch the Buddhist teaching of transmigration in order to refute his opponent. This latter point may be due to his Zen transcendentalism or on account of his condescension to the Confucian ridicule of all the stories of future life.

The third section states the doctrine that Deus, the "*Spiritual substantia*," has created Paraiso for showing His glory; that Inferno is provided for the fallen angels. Fabian points out that God, Who could not anticipate nor prevent angels' fall, can in no way be called omniscient or merciful. Thus, Fabian says, Christian teaching proceeds from shallow to shallower, from ridiculous to more ridiculous, simply because all is based on fiction.

The fifth section treats of the doctrine of Contrition, the great distress into which Adam and Eve were put, the inavailability of their own contrition. Fabian criticizes this by a simile, that Deus is to be likened to a foolish carpenter who has cut his timber too short, instead of too long, for his purpose. He objects also to the idea that eating an apple has become so great an offense that its redemption could not be achieved by an immense contrition of the offenders.

The sixth section speaks of Christ, simply stating the narratives of His birth and death and not touching the doctrine of His divinity nor the meaning of His vicarious redemption. Consequently the objections raised amount to pointing out the too long duration of years between the beginning of the world and His birth, the absurdity of the virgin birth, and so forth. Fabian thinks also that the Jews were right in crucifying Jesus because He called himself King of Judea, and that therefore the Japanese are right in crucifying the Kirishitans.

The seventh section treats of the Ten Commandments. Fabian admits that these, except the first, are right, but also points out that those moral precepts are not to be monopolized by Kirishitans but are universal to all mankind and religions. Thus the refutation is concentrated on the first commandment, pointing out that herein lies the source of all the evils of the Kirishitan religion because it justifies one to be disobedient to parents, to violate national laws, and even to commit parricide or regicide when deemed necessary for observing the first commandment. The polemic in this section is a most violent one, evidently intended for the justification of any severe measures against the Kirishitans.

The remaining part of the book is intended to give information about life in the Church, the behavior of the missionaries and other practical matters. Leaving aside most of these, one noteworthy point is that Fabian bitterly complains of the haughtiness of the foreigners and expresses his personal dissatisfaction with them. When we see that in 1606 or 1607, when he apostatized, the persecution was not at all severe, his apostasy seems to have taken place not on account of the pressure of persecution but of some other motive. The last part of the book stating Fabian's discontent with the missionaries' haughtiness and their contempt toward Japanese, whether true or not, seems to give a clue to the cause of his desertion of the Kirishitan Church.⁽¹⁾ However this may have been, Fabian's publication of his refutations, fourteen years after his apostasy, gave a great impetus to other critics, and his book marks a mile-stone in the exclusion of Kirishitan missions from Japan. Moreover, the increasing severity of the prosecution after 1620, marked by the Great Martyrdom at Nagasaki in 1622 and a similar one at Miyako in 1623, may be partially due to the instigation of Fabian's book.

II

Buddhist Refutations

Fabian's example was followed by two Zen Buddhists. The first was Sesso 雪齋, whose essay is dated 1648 and is handed down in manuscript copies and much later found a printed edition.⁽²⁾ Sesso's life still remains obscure and we know only that he was monk of Nanzen-ji in Miyako, possibly a disciple of Suden, the adviser to Iyeyasu, spoken of above. The second was Suzuki Shosan 鈴木正三 (1579-1655), a lay brother of Zen, and his essay is called *Ha-Kirishitan 破吉利支丹* (Refutation of the

(1) The following circumstances may account for Fabian's discontent: By 1606 all those missionaries by whom Fabian had been educated had passed away or were away from Miyako and thus Fabian was, in fact, the senior worker of the Church of Miyako. In spite of this, he was never promoted to the rank of Padre. Moreover, Carlo Spinola, of nearly the same age as Fabian, came to administer the Church. Thus we might infer an unpleasant conflict between Fabian and Spinola.

(2) One is in the Fujita MSS. in possession of the Tokyo Imperial University Library and bears the title *Jakyo Tai 邪教大意* (Outlines of the Evil Teaching), giving no refutatory remarks. The other two are practically the same as the above but are furnished with refutations. One of these is contained in the *Sokkyo-hen 息詔篇* (Suppression and Interdiction) compiled at Mito, and the other contained in a collection *關邪管見錄* edited by Ukai and printed in 1662. The title of the former is *Taiji Jashu-ron 對治邪宗論* while the latter has *shu 執* instead of *shu 宗*, meaning "Refutations of the Evil Teachings." There are slight differences in the text but all insignificant.

K. religion).⁽¹⁾ This is said to have been published in 1662 but no extant copy of the original printed edition is known. It is doubtful whether either of these Buddhist refuters was ever personally engaged in polemics with the Kirishitans, but certainly they wrote these essays for supplying information to the Buddhist monks and priests who were then made official instruments to repudiate Kirishitan propaganda. Particularly Sesso's essay is intended for the use of the Buddhist clergy and not for the people at large, while Suzuki's is less technical and was probably intended for wider circles.

Sesso's refutation is divided into three parts, of which the first introductory section states the origin and history of Kirishitan missions and is relatively plain and free from exaggerations, though inaccurate. The refutatory remarks amount to denouncing Christianity as a distorted imitation of Buddhism, through modifying Brahma to Deus, Naraka to Purgatorio, Abhisheka to Baptismo, Bhiksuni to Virgem, and so forth.

The second section states the contrast between Buddhist transcendentalism and Christian monotheism (or realism), in reply to the accusation that Buddhism is nihilism. The argument amounts to stating that Buddhist negation is not a mere negation but an intuitive insight into the transcendental reality present in Buddha's wisdom, while the Christian Deus is a product of illusion. Another point is concerned with the Kirishitan accusation that Buddhas and Japanese deities are mere human beings unworthy of worship. The refutation is moral rather than logical, that this denial of the national deities betrays the ulterior purpose of disrupting national tradition and ruining national life.

The third section is concerned with the teachings of future life, Adam's fall, the saviorship of Christ, the last judgment and the sacraments. The refutation amounts to reducing all these to a selfish view of life attracting people by future reward and thereby binding them to a narrow partizanship under the hegemony of the Padres. Suzuki's book is less violent and states more Buddhist truth than Christian "falsehood" because its whole trend consists in trying to show that Christianity is but a very imperfect and often erroneous fragment of Buddhism. The individual soul, according to the author, is but a partial reflection of the cosmic soul which is the entity of Buddhahood. The Christian Deus is only a one-sided and mythical distortion of Buddha, narrowing down the universal Buddha-soul to an individual deity and ignoring the all-pervading

(1) Not printed in later times, except an abstract printed in Ukai's collection of 1862. It is contained in the Mito collection Sokkyo-hen and another MSS. copy in the Fujita collection. Certainly it found some circulation among Buddhists.

vitality of Buddha-nature. Due to this narrowness, the Kirishitans could not see the divine nature manifested not only in Japanese deities but in all other beings which are finally destined to attain Buddhahood. Due to the same bias, the Kirishitan believes in the individual soul as if it were a final and eternal entity in itself, and that is just the stand taken by the Sankhya system which has been fully repudiated by Buddhism. Thus the refutation amounts to a contrast drawn between Buddhist idealism and Christian realism or dualism, trying to show that Buddhism is broad enough to envelop and elevate Christianity, while the latter obstinately insists on its narrow and lower standpoint. The argument is thoroughly metaphysical and touches little the practical or moral bearings of religious faith. In spite of this, however, Suzuki also shares the view of other critics of Christianity, that its propaganda aims at upsetting national traditions and at subjugating the people to a foreign religion. Anyway, Suzuki's polemic against Christianity is the most typical representative of the Buddhist pantheistic stand taken against Christian monotheism, and no one before or after him in this century has so clearly stated the gap existing between the two religions.

III

Confucian Refutations

Ten years after his encounter with Fabian, Hayashi Razan became the official teacher of Confucianism, of its Shushi School adopted by Iyeyasu as the orthodox system of ethics for the Samurai class. According to this policy, division of spiritual jurisdiction was allotted to Confucianism and Buddhism, the former for the ruling class and the latter for the common people. Either was used as an instrument for fighting the Kirishitan religion, and the subscription to it, of whatever form or branch it might be, was prescribed as a duty of every Japanese. The attacks upon Christianity referred to above, whether published or not, were intended as assaults upon the "evil teaching" in support of this national policy. But, curiously enough, none of the orthodox Confucianists published any refutation but only a few of other schools of pragmatic tendency. It is also remarkable that those Confucian critics of Christianity combined their attacks upon it with those upon Buddhism, implying a criticism of the Government's policy of making use of and patronizing Buddhism as a preventive against the Kirishitans.

One exception to this last remark was Inouye Chikugo (井上筑後守), the first head of the Inquisition Office and himself a Kirishitan apostate.

Yet his own idea in combatting Kirishitans was entirely Confucianistic and he opposed the teaching of Deus by his conception of Li, the Reason or Way of Heaven. There is little need of saying that he regarded as simply absurd the stories of the creation, of Adam's fall, and so forth. However, Inouye never published his views but only kept them in his official records which later circulated within limited circles, and of which a report will be made in other connections.

Razan's criticism of Christianity, too, had never been published until his writings were collected by his son and printed in 1671. Thus, no Confucianist of the orthodox Shushi School ever published his view of Christianity. The first one who did so was Kumazawa Banzan (熊澤蕃山 1619-91), a pragmatist and a disciple of Nakae Toju, to whom reference shall be made below.

Banzan's remarks on Christianity are merely casual notes in his several writings⁽¹⁾ and express a part of his animosity toward religion in general, including Buddhism. He goes even further and criticizes the academic inefficiency of the orthodox Confucianists who would be powerless before the seducing teachings of Buddhism and Christianity. In spite of his service under a feudal Daimyo he was bitterly against the Central Government's policy of patronizing orthodox Confucianism and Buddhism for the purpose of preventing Kirishitan propaganda. Thus his attacks upon Christianity were paradoxically due to his denunciation of the Government's policy of interdiction, not that Kirishitans should be tolerated but that a more reasonable and practical policy of fighting Kirishitans be adopted. Banzan's chief objection to religion in general is that religion teaches about future life and thereby seduces people by the promise of paradise and the threat of hell. In this respect, he thought, Christianity amounts to the same as Buddhism but is better equipped; an artificial encouragement, nay, more than that, a compulsory imposition of Buddhism will serve only as a preliminary step to inducing people gradually to accept Christianity as a more agreeable counterpart of Buddhism. Calling Buddhism the religion of Western (Indian) Buddha and Christianity that of Southern (Spanish) Buddha, Banzan tries to warn the Government that the nation, having been captivated by Western Buddha, will consequently be almost compelled to be enslaved by Southern Buddha. The reason stated is more economic than moral, more practical than doctrinal: The nation being deceived by the promises of future life lavishes

(1) None of them was printed until 1710; but they were published in a sense during the author's lifetime, because all were intended for the public and the writings were circulated in MSS. form.

wealth on pious causes and the consequent impoverishment will end in the surrender of the nation to a foreign power.⁽¹⁾ Banzan finds even in the introduction of tobacco a means devised by the Southern Barbarians for ruining the economic life of Japan. It is quite striking that Banzan never asked whether the Southern Barbarians themselves were sincere in their Kirishitan faith or they themselves would ruin their own national life by Christianity or by tobacco. But the remedy he proposes against the evils of religious teaching amounts to the economic amelioration of life and thereby to concentrating the people's attention and effort solely to this life.

After Banzan's time the danger, if not fear, of Kirishitan missions became so insignificant that no Confucianist or Buddhist cared to write any refutation during the seventeenth century. However, that apparent safety was temporarily broken by the smuggling of Giovanni Sidotti, the Italian Jesuit, in 1708. Toward the end of the following year the Jesuit was brought over to Yedo in order to be examined by an influential adviser to the Government. This man was Arai Hakuseki (新井白石 1657-1725), the positivist thinker and statesman. In examining Sidotti several times Arai was much impressed by his sincerity, and it seems to be due to Arai's advice that the Government treated Sidotti exceptionally leniently. Moreover, Arai highly appreciated the information given by the Italian about the wide world.⁽²⁾ Their conversations turned naturally to religious doctrine and Arai's notes on Christianity were kept only in confidential circles.⁽³⁾ Therein, in contrast to his appreciation or admiration of Sidotti's knowledge, Arai remarks that the Italian's talks on religion are incredibly silly and absurd. Arai had prepared himself with a study of Christian doctrine before he talked with Sidotti, and his opinion of it never changed, amounting to a denunciation of the doctrine of Deus as inadmissible, because incompatible with the Confucian teaching of Li, the

(1) Comp. R. C. Armstrong, *The Light from the East*, p. 148, where the author misinterprets Banzan's intention. His quotation "Christianity is superior to Buddhism, being more reasonable, and having a more clever method of propagation" etc. is unwarranted. The passage ought to be rendered: "Kirishitans are more astute than Buddhist and are cleverer in arguing." In fact, Banzan says: "Even among the branches of Western Buddha the more silly (or superstitious) the more adherence; thus the way of insnaring Japanese people is simply to appeal to their superstition in magic and to their ideas of future life, to appeal to reason being useless (this is the idea of the Southern Barbarians)." There is no trace in Banzan's writings that "later he seems to have learned more about Christianity," as the author puts it. Comp. Anesaki's review of the book in the *Harvard Theological Review*, 1916.

(2) See W. B. Wright's article in *T. A. S. J.* (1881).

(3) Those notes make up the last part of his *Seiyo-kibun* (What I have heard of the Occident), and were first printed in 1882.

self-sustaining principle of cosmic existence. While Arai shared Razan's view in doctrinal matters, he shared Banzan's in almost identifying Christianity and Buddhism and denouncing both. One particular point in Hakuseki's refutations was a peculiarly bureaucratic view that the worship of Heaven should be the privilege of the Emperor and not be shared by the people at large, that, therefore, the Christian worship of God was a violation of the law of social status. But he showed some hesitancy in accepting the common accusation that Kirishitan missions were simply a means of conquest—probably a consequence of the impressions he received from Sidotti's personality.

Arai was seconded by a Confucianist who wrote comments on Arai's writing and therein more bitterly attacked Christianity, in pointing out absurdity in every point of Christian lore; the creation, Adam's fall, and so forth. The book is called *Sangan Yoko* 三眼餘考 (Additional notes on the Three Eyes)⁽¹⁾ but neither the author nor his date is known. His bitterest attack is directed against the doctrine of the sole God, not from cosmological consideration but from moral, that the Kirishitan teaching of the only God is detrimental to the morality of loyalty and filial piety and therefore to national life. Even the teaching of monogamy is criticized from a similar angle, because monogamy endangers the security of succession in the ruling families, as testified in the wars of succession so frequent, as the writer is informed, in Europe. Summing up these objections, the writer contrasts Christianity with Confucianism. For Confucius taught only the demonstrable human relationships and so his ethical teachings are universally applicable to human life, with no need of proselytizing, whereas Christian propaganda is a manifestation of factious and sectarian spirit, an evidence of its ulterior purpose of establishing an *imperium in imperio* and of finally subjugating Japan to the rule of a foreign power, which the Japanese could not understand but as a political power.

This last point, the denunciation of Christianity as a means of political conquest, was common to all the critics of Christianity and was unquestioningly accepted by the whole people during the centuries of seclusion and prohibition.

There was, however, a great Confucianist who never expressed his opinion of Christianity but taught a teaching verging on Christian monotheism. He was Nakae Toju 中江藤樹 (1608-48) who lived in Ozu in Iyo

(1) "Three Eyes" is derived from a peculiar tradition current in China in the eighteenth century that Christian missionaries taught that they were furnished with four eyes, while Japanese with three and Chinese with two (or one).

during the years 1618-34 and probably had a knowledge of Christianity. Ozu was one of the places where there were a number of converts and a legend says that Toju obtained a certain medicine from a Kirishitan. The missionary reports of 1626 tell of a Confucianist in Iyo who was converted to Christianity.⁽¹⁾ Though his identity cannot be established, it is remarkable that Toju emphasized "filial piety" toward the father of all, whom he also called "Heavenly Lord."

Lastly there is another writing of refutation, chiefly from the Confucian standpoint, bearing the Japanese name of the apostate Padre Christovan Ferreira as its author, to which we shall now turn.

IV

A Refutation of Christianity attributed to Christovan Ferreira, the Apostate Padre.

According to a Japanese legend, the Inquisition officials were particularly eager to have any foreign missionary apostatize because one Padre, tortured, had said that Kirishitan propaganda could not be checked until a Padre would apostatize. This prediction apparently fulfilled itself when Christovan Ferreira, once the Jesuit Provincial, apostatized on October 18, 1633, and a rapid fall of the missions followed. Anyway, Ferreira adopted a Japanese name Sawano Chuan (澤野忠庵) and served the Governor of Nagasaki as a *me-akashi*, or watchkeeper, in Kirishitan affairs. His act of apostasy culminated in a book, with the title *Kengi-roku* (顯偽錄) "Disclosure of Falsehoods,"⁽²⁾ bearing his name as the author, which was written in 1636, though probably never printed.

Since question could hardly be raised concerning the genuineness of the only extant copy as handed down from the seventeenth century, the first question is whether Ferreira was sincere in his apostasy or in his refutation. Apart from the legend that Ferreira later died a martyr's death on account of his revocation, another story is confirmed from every side that he faithfully worked in his office for persecution, even inventing the method of inquisition by enforcing every inhabitant of Nagasaki to tread upon a sacred image as evidence of not being a Kirishitan. But it is another question whether he was really responsible for the whole of the book of refutation. The postscript of the book bearing his name says that he adopted the Zenshu religion on his apostasy, but the arguments in

(1) page 637.

(2) The only extant manuscript copy was handed down in a Daimyo family under sealed covers dated 1660 and was recently edited in the collection *Koten Zenshu*, in 1927.

the book betray hardly any trace of specifically Zen ideas and are based chiefly on Confucian tenets. Moreover, the vocabulary, rhetoric and idioms of the book are strongly Chinese, so common to the Confucian scholars of that time, a style hardly to be expected from the Jesuit missionaries of the time, who wrote a more genuine Japanese, melodious and colloquial, if not quite classical. On the other hand, however, there are some remarks and passages which could never emanate from any one other than a foreign missionary trained in Catholic theology. Leaving these passages in question to later observations, the apparent difficulty seems not very hard to solve if the following hypotheses be adopted :

That the book was the joint work of a Confucianist and the apostate Padre ; that the former asked questions about Kirishitan doctrines with his refutatory remarks, while the apostate replied for information, then more or less in defense, and, finally, in confirmation of the inquisitor's accusations ; that these conversations were noted down by the Confucianist and the final results arranged as Ferreira's own confessions and arguments, all intended to fulfil the desire of the Governor to "disclose the falsehoods of Kirishitan teaching."

The prologue opens with a Confucian confession of faith : "Viewing the world around we see that everything is endowed with its own nature and merit ; bird or beast, insect or fish, grass or tree, earth or stone, air or water, each one has its natural quality and merit. All this is the work of *Natura* (natural arrangement). Man stands at the head of all existence and Heaven has endowed mankind with the natural faculties of charity, justice, propriety, sagacity (仁義禮智).⁽¹⁾ Therefore, man discriminates between good and bad, as well as aspires after equanimity (extinction of commotion)."

This is a Confucian confession, except the last clause which sounds Buddhistic. Then Ferreira proceeds to state his own confession of life : "having been born in the Land of the Southern Barbarians, I was ever immersed in evil paths and remained ignorant of the right way. Since my youth I have devoted myself to the teaching of Kirishitan, and having become a *shukke* (*religieux*) came to the Land of Sunrise, crossing thousands and myriads of leagues on the sea, with the ardent desire of propagating that teaching in Japan. Years and years I have worked on the propaganda in going and wandering east and west, enduring the hardships of hunger and thirst and other perils, hiding myself among the

(1) These are four of the five cardinal virtues of Confucianism, the fifth being "sincerity." It is remarkable that this last is left out.

mountains and in the forests, at the risk of life and daring to evade the interdiction. But, having seen the life of the Japanese and learned the teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism (or Shinto?), and having gradually grasped a small fraction of their truth, I have repented my errors and given up illusions. I have finally abandoned the Kirishitan faith and adopted Buddha's doctrine. Thus, not for vindicating the deeper teachings of the Kirishitan religion but for exposing its falsehood, I write down this for the purpose of awakening those who are ensnared by the evil teachings of the Kirishitan."

This is the pathetic confession of an apostate, but its style and rhetoric betray the pen of a Confucianist, particularly those words like Nature, Heaven, natural endowments. This is followed by refutations of Kirishitan doctrine in six parts, which are (1) the existence and attributes of Deus, (2) the immortality of the soul, (3) the ten commandments, together with the authority of the *Papa*, (4) the stories of Jesus Christ, (5) the sacraments, and (6) the last Judgment (*Juizo geral*). Each part begins with a general statement of the doctrine and ends with its refutation. In the refutations some defensive remarks are made, but all ends in the condemnation that the doctrine is false or that the real intention of the propaganda is political conquest.

(1) The refutatory points raised against the doctrine of God are various but amount to denying the creatorship of God on the basis of the Confucian and Buddhist idea of "natural existence," which has neither beginning nor end. Aristotle is cited in support of this latter view, his remark in distinguishing "simple" natural beings and artificial things. This was certainly supplied by Ferreira, but other points are entirely Confucian, that Chinese history shows the antiquity of the world more than six thousand years as told in the Kirishitan lore, that the ignorance of many peoples of Deus the Creator shows the falsehood of a creator of all, and so forth.

(2) The refutation of the doctrine of immortality is merely negative in pointing out the absurdity of distinguishing between the human soul and other souls, not stating whether all souls are immortal too or the human soul perishable. Another objection is raised against the differentiation of *Paraíso* and *Inferno*, particularly against the teaching of Predestination. Here the distinction of the *predestinato* and *reprovo* was certainly supplied by Ferreira himself, and its refutation is both Confucian and Buddhistic. In objecting to the story of Adam's fall, a reference is made to the doctrine of the freedom of will, a point which is touched on by none of the other critics. Anyway, the doctrine of the original sin and

of God's special grace was always the most objectionable point to all the Japanese critics of Christianity. Ferreira's book assumes that all those absurd stories were invented for deceiving and captivating credulous people, so that those deceived would regard themselves as monopolizing God's grace and regard others as condemned, all a means of conquest.

(3) The Ten Commandments are criticized as a means of ignoring the Confucian or humanitarian ethics of the five human relationships and thereby upsetting the whole social structure of Japan, including the worship of the national deities. Attacks are directed against the first commandment as the most objectionable one, being the chief strategic basis of moral and political conquest. This view is common to Fabian and other critics, but, in contrast to Fabian's tolerant or appreciative attitude toward the remaining nine, Ferreira criticizes every one of them in pointing out the hypocrisy of the missionaries as regards those rules, because loopholes are furnished for the sake of the Church. Most of these objections are certainly Confucian, but some points were evidently supplied by Ferreira, such as the stories of the colonial expansion of Portugal and Spain, the cases of *amphibologia*, interpreted as admissible lies and falsehoods, the cases of polygamy in the Jewish history.

The culminating point in the objections to the commandments is concerned with the Papal authority in enforcing them, which is attacked as the source of all the abuses and corruptions of the Church. Evidently Ferreira's information is responsible for the statements about the dignity and election of the Pope, the status of the clergy, the system of indulgence, and so forth. But the attacks upon the abuses of those ecclesiastical prerogatives were certainly stated by Ferreira's Confucianist colleague, imposed upon the apostate for his confirmation. Most fierce are the attacks upon the abuses of the excommunication (*excommunhao*), which may have been derived from Dutch information and equally imposed upon Ferreira for confirmation. At any rate, most of the ecclesiastical institutions, such as *patrimonio*, *bulia*, *jubileo*, *caso reservado*, *confissan*, *excommunhao* (all given in Portuguese words) are ascribed to the greed of the Pope to exploit money on every occasion. It is a question with how much sincerity the apostate Jesuit gave this information or subscribed to the assaults upon these ecclesiastical systems. However, it is to be noticed that none of other Japanese refutations of Christianity has ever gone into these inner workings of the Catholic Church, apart from whether those critical remarks made in the book are just or unjust.

(4) The stories of Jesus' birth and death are told in an ordinary way, and every point is criticized mercilessly. The immaculate conception,

Jesus' circumcision, the story of the three Magi, the murder of babies by Herod, Jesus' fasting for forty days—all these are attacked as absurd. For instance, Jesus' circumcision is ridiculed as contradictory to the doctrine of his sinlessness, because a sinless god-man needs not purification. Finally the crucifixion of Jesus is regarded as a just act on the part of the Jewish authorities, because a pretender to Royal dignity is a traitor, implying that it is a right of the Japanese Government to crucify the followers of the crucified traitor.

(5) Of the sacraments, only three are cited and criticized. The argument against baptism amounts to pointing out the absurdity of purifying the spirit by matter (*corpo*). Concerning the sacrament of confession, the absence of a definite statement about it in Jesus' utterances is one of the points against it. The redundancy of formal confession in addition to the inner contrition is another point of attack. Quite remarkable is the criticism of Eucharistia, that its teaching is admissible only as a metaphor (the Portuguese word *metaphora* being used), on the authority of Christ's saying, "My word is life." The whole argument is rather an interpretation than a refutation, quite contrary to our expectation that the same argument could be adduced as in the case of baptism. Thus, all the arguments against these sacraments sound so Protestant that Ferreira's Confucian colleague may be suspected of having had information from Dutch sources.

(6) The last is a refutation of the doctrine of *Juizo geral*, together with *juizo particular*. The last day of the world, the eternal separation of Paraiso and Inferno, the resurrection of the body, all these are criticized as mere fables for deceiving credulous people and ensnaring their allegiance. The closing part runs: "Most absurd is the teaching that all human beings resurrect in the original bodies of about thirty years of age. How could the bodies once reduced to ashes and earth be reborn in their former forms? Some die young and others old; and if men who died at the age of one, two, three years should be reborn in the bodies of about thirty years the personal identity is lost. As the body is no more the original body, the teaching is false or the person different. Moreover, there are cannibals in some countries; how could those bodies devoured by them be reborn in the original forms? All these falsehoods are told for deceiving people and thereby establishing a sectarian partizanship. Besides those pointed out there are many other absurdities, but all need not be enumerated since a few examples are sufficient to show hundred similar ones. Thus we close this book by the remarks on the *Juizo geral*, the end of mankind."

Genshin's Ojo Yoshu : Collected Essays on Birth Into Paradise

TRANSLATED FROM THE JAPANESE

BY

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Translator's Introduction

One of the major types of Japanese Buddhism is that which makes central Amida Butsu (the Buddha Amitabha) and salvation in his Western Paradise; or the Pure Land. To this type belong four of the traditional Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects, namely, Yodzu Nembutsushu, Jodoshu, Shinshu and Jishu. These four claim approximately three-sevenths of all Japanese Buddhists as adherents; and the Shin Sect, with its nearly 20,000 temples, is the largest and in many ways the most aggressive sect of modern Buddhists.

The worship of Amida Butsu in Japan dates from the very beginnings of Buddhism in this land in the sixth century. Early in the seventh century the great Shotoku Taishi expressed longings for Amida's Western Paradise. Gyogi Bosatsu, the father of religious syncretism in Japan, and other pious monks of the seventh and eighth centuries preached salvation through faith in Amida's name, wrote books and painted pictures setting forth the hope of birth in the Western Paradise. Then with the founding of the Tendai Sect by Dengyo Daishi, early in the ninth century, Amidaism was given a rather prominent place in the teachings of this comprehensive type of Buddhism. This was especially true of the famous Tendai institution of Miidera, where Amida was given the highest place of honor.

But while Amida Buddhism was a recognized part of Japanese Mahayana Buddhism during these centuries, it was left to Genshin in his writings, especially the Ojo Yoshu, to lay the foundations for Buddhist sects which made Amidaism, it not the only way, at least the supreme way of salvation. Especially with the founding of the Jodo and Shin sects does Amida Buddhism become a dominant type in Japan, and these rest definitely upon Genshin's work.

Both the Jodo and the Shin sects, in tracing their spiritual origins, assign a high place to Genshin and his Ojo Yoshu. Honen Shonin, the founder of the Jodo Sect, says that it was his reading of Ojo Yoshu which won him for this way of salvation. And at the beginning of his own writing, the Sangakushu, he says, "I make the Nembutsu of Ojo my foundation." The Shin Sect, founded by Shinran, a disciple of Honen, looks upon Genshin as the sixth of the Seven Great Transmitters of the Amida Faith. These seven are Nagarjuna and Vasubandhu of India, Donran (曇鸞), Dôshaku (道綽) and Zendô (善導) of China, and Genshin and Honen of Japan. The importance of the Ojo Yoshu may be seen also from the fact that the work has been published in a good many editions down through the centuries since its first appearance in the latter part of the tenth century, the last edition appearing as recently as 1913.

The oldest extant edition is the Kempo Edition which appeared in the fourth year of the Kempo Era, 1217 A.D. This edition consists of six volumes and was published in commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the author's death.

The original edition of 984 A.D. has been lost, as have been other editions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. However, a copy of the first edition which the author had sent to China seems to have survived to the middle of the thirteenth century when about the year 1253 an edition was got out in Japan which was based on this edition. This edition, like the Kempo edition, is in six volumes and differs from the latter only in that a few lines are omitted from the first of the ten main divisions into which the Ojo Yoshu is divided. There was another edition published about the same time, though possibly a little earlier, which is also in six volumes and differs from the Kempo edition in that it omits twenty words from the first main division.

Two copies of the Ojo Yoshu are extant which may date from the Shogen Era (1207-1211), though it is rather likely that they belong to a little later period. Then there is the "Yellow Paper Edition," so called because printed on yellow paper, which belongs somewhere in the Kamakura Period (1159-1333). This is, however, not a complete edition, since only one volume survives.

It will be noted that most of these editions belong to the period in Japanese Buddhist history in which the great Jodo and Shin sects, the two leading Amida sects, had their first success. Whether any editions were published during the period of the Ashikaga anarchy and the subsequent period of civil strife is not certain. At any rate, none seems to have come down to our day from those troublesome times. Only after the Tokugawa

Shogunate was well established and the land had peace again was publication of the Ojo Yoshu resumed. The Kwan-ei Edition, appearing in the eighth year of the Kwan-ei era (1631), was the first. This was followed by another edition in 1640. Then some time during the Teikyo era (1684-1688) appeared the Teikyo edition.

About the time of the Teikyo edition, which like all previous editions, was Chinese and complete in six volumes, appeared the first edition in easy Japanese written in the hiragana and graphically illustrated. This was an abbreviated edition since it contained only the first two of the ten main divisions of the Ojo Yoshu. This was apparently soon followed by another abbreviated popular edition. What is known as the Genroku Hiragana edition is the one which appeared in the second year of that era (1689). This, too, is an abbreviated popular edition, though it comprises six volumes.

Another Genroku edition is that of 1697, which is a complete edition in Chinese and published in six volumes. This edition may be regarded as a standard edition for modern scholars and copies of it are not difficult to secure.

In 1790 appeared the Kwansei edition, which is an abbreviated popular edition containing again only the first two main divisions. It differs from the previous popular editions in that it is in three rather than in six volumes.

The most recent complete edition in Chinese is that of 1839, differing from the older complete editions in that it is in three volumes rather than the traditional six. That the Ojo Yoshu has not lost its hold on the popular mind in modern times is shown by the fact that in 1883 appeared again an edition in easy Japanese and consisting, like previous popular editions, of the first two main divisions of the work. It would seem that about this time an attempt was made to publish a lithographic edition, but this was given up as impracticable. The last edition to appear is that of 1913. This is also a popular edition consisting of the first two main divisions. Comparing this edition with the Genroku Chinese edition of 1697, it will be observed that a good many passages of an explanatory nature have been inserted into the text. We have indicated these interpolations by the use of brackets and foot notes. On the other hand, there are a few passages found in the older Chinese editions and especially the names of Scriptures which are omitted in the popular editions. These, too, are indicated by the use of brackets and foot notes.⁽¹⁾ As has already been

(1) The substance of what is said above regarding the various editions of the Ojo Yoshu is based largely on an article by Mr. Mun Kusaka in Vol. 4 of *Bibliophila*, 1929, entitled, "Fishin Sozu no Ojo Yoshu Kobanhon ni tsuite."

indicated, the Ojo Yōshū, in its complete form, consists of ten main divisions. It is probably natural that when an attempt was made to popularize this work only the first two main divisions should be published, for they contain what might be called the Divine Comedy proper of this Buddhist Dante. The headings of the ten main divisions are as follows: I. Leaving the Unclean World; II. Paradise; III. Evidences for the Existence of Paradise; IV. Correct Practice of Nembutsu; V. Methods for Promoting Nembutsu; VI. Nembutsu for Special Seasons; VII. Benefits of Nembutsu; VIII. Evidences for Nembutsu; IX. Various Causes Leading to Birth in Paradise; X. Questions and Answers.

Division I. Leaving the Unclean World, is subdivided into the following sections: 1. Stories about Hell (in eight short chapters on the eight great hells, each with its sixteen minor hells); 2. Realm of Hungry Spirits; Realm of Beasts; 4. Realm of Angry Demons; 5. Realm of Human Beings; 6. Realm of Heavenly Beings; 7. General Summary.

Division II. Paradise, gives in ten short chapters the pleasures of Amida's Western Paradise. It is only these two first divisions that we give in translation below. For an outline of the remaining eight divisions, the reader is referred to the appendix.

A few words about Genshin himself may not be out of place here. Genshin, or as he is often called, Eishin Sozu, i.e., the abbot of Eishin, was born in a small village of Yamato Province in the year 942 A.D. He lost his father when he was only seven. This apparently made a deep impression on the mind of this precocious lad. His mother seems to have been a woman of deep piety and her influence on the boy was a very big factor in his spiritual career. Apparently soon after the father's death the boy was sent away from home to study at the great Tendai center on Mount Hiei. It is reported that the mother on this occasion said to her son: "You shall not see my face again until you have become a noted priest in the world," and then producing from a silk wrapping a copy of the Amida-kyō (the smaller Sukhavati-vyūha), she gave it to him saying: "This is what your father used to read. I give it to you. Read it and preach the joy which it contains."

That this parting injunction spurred the youth on to do his best may be inferred from the fact that he soon won for himself a reputation as a scholar of unusual ability. It is claimed that when he was only fifteen he was chosen as a lecturer on the Hokkekyō (Saddharma Pundarika sūtra) in the palace before the Emperor Murakami (946-966). His fluency of speech and great ability impressed his Royal audience and he was handsomely rewarded by the Emperor. The young scholar, thinking how this

recognition would please his mother, promptly sent the Royal gifts to her. But the pious mother was anything but pleased, fearing that his head was being turned with his early success. She sent back a severe rebuke saying: "The idea of your leaving home was that you might enter the way of true enlightenment and not to gain profit and make a name for yourself." She added a little verse which reads: "I thought you would become a bridge to connect this world with the next, but I am sad to find that you are only a monk of this world."

The shot struck home, for he replied: "I regarded books as bridges that lead across this world, but now, happily, I have learned to enter the way of truth through them." The young monk now gave himself all the more zealously to his studies, and withdrew himself almost completely, not only from the world at large, but also from the society of his fellow monks on the mountain. It is said that he read the entire Buddhist canon through five times, not to gain fame but that he might find true enlightenment. This was, of course, unconsciously a preparation for writing what became his master work, the *Ojo Yoshu*. This is shown quite clearly by the contents of these *Essays on Birth into Paradise*, since they are so largely but a compilation of what is taught on this subject in the canonical scriptures.

While the reading in the canonical writings was a preparation for writing the *Ojo Yoshu*, Genshin did not read them with this in view. Apparently it was again his mother who influenced him to write these essays. This time it was not by anything she said or did but rather by her death. She died in 983 A.D. and Genshin now went back to his home for the first time since he had left it more than thirty years before. He went back to conduct the *Indo* service, the ceremony of conducting his mother's spirit to Paradise. Soon after his return to his retreat at Ryogen-in of Enryakuji he set to work on these essays. In the space of about six months he had finished the task and given to Japanese Buddhism a writing which, while not ranking as a canonical scripture, has had a far greater influence, especially on the religious life of the masses, than most of the canonical scriptures of Buddhism have had. In reading the *Ojo Yoshu* one is repeatedly reminded of Dante's immortal work and it would be only natural to institute a comparison. We shall, however, leave this to the reader and confine ourselves to a few general observations.

The object which both Dante and Genshin seek to accomplish is essentially the same. Both writers try to picture the horrors of hell in all their loathsome details and paint the glories of Paradise in all the attractiveness that their imagination can conjure up so that the reader

may fear and flee from the sinful life that leads to the one and seek with all his might the life of righteousness that leads to the other. Genshin goes beyond Dante in the first in that he adds to the horrors of hell other stages of existences including our present human life as something to be hated and from which one is to escape. Both Genshin and Dante hold that a person's lot in the next world is determined by what one is in his inner life in this world and not by the whimsical decrees of ecclesiastical authorities. In this Dante ran more or less counter to the general belief of his day, especially when he assigns men high in authority in the church to the lower hells. Genshin was but applying the ordinary Buddhist doctrine of good and evil Karma, i.e., what a man soweth that shall he also reap. One never feels in reading the *Ojo Yoshu* that Genshin's own personal animosities had anything to do with the place to which sinners were assigned as one does in reading Dante's *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*. He represents the hell wardens as quoting from the scriptures to impress upon the victims that they are receiving merely their just rewards.

It should be added, on the other hand, that Dante's work is far more gripping on the imagination just because he makes it all such a personal narrative and peoples the other world with persons whom he calls by names, many of whom are well known to the average reader. Genshin does not give a single name except those of well known Buddhas and Bodhisattvas like Amida, Kwannon and Daiseishi. His sinners in hell and saints in Paradise are not so much specific persons as types. This difference between Dante and Genshin is due largely to the underlying difference in the conception of the nature of the human personality. With Dante a personal human being remains essentially a human being whether he is suffering in demon form the tortures of hell, enduring the disciplinary sufferings of Purgatory or enjoying in angelic splendor the unutterable bliss of Paradise. Genshin, being true to the Buddhist conception, cannot picture human beings as such suffering in hell or enjoying the pleasures of Paradise. When human beings fall into hell or into any of the states below the human state they cease by that very fact to be human beings. The same is true when they rise to the stages of existence above the human stage. In hell they must be demons, in the Realm of Beasts they are beasts and in Paradise they are Bodhisattvas and Buddhas who, though pictured in terms of personality, have nevertheless lost so much of their human characteristics that it would be hard to identify them with human persons who once lived here on earth and who could be called by definite names in the way Dante calls his other-world citizens by definite names.

While both Dante and Genshin regard the results of a life of sin and

one of righteousness as equally certain and inexorable, it is not equally final with both writers. Dante writes above the portals of hell these words. "All hope abandon ye who enter in!" It is only from Purgatory that the inhabitants can hope to escape some day. With Genshin nothing is permanent in the lower realms of existence, though apparently those who enter Paradise are forever saved. The lower realms, including hell, are all a sort of purgatory. One may fall or rise in the scale of beings and so even the lowest hell will give up its victims when the measure of suffering caused by evil Karma is full and this evil Karma has been exhausted. But that this should not tempt the sinner to persist in the pleasures of sin, Genshin says that there is about as much chance to escape from the clutches of hell as for "a monkey to grab the moon."

An interesting point of comparison between the two writers that might be made is in connection with their conception of the shape and size of the cosmos. Genshin's conception is on a vastly larger scale than Dante's though one can not feel that this is due to a keener observation of things but only to that tendency toward extravagance which is so characteristic in Mahayana Buddhistic writings. Dante's conception was, of course, the general Ptolemaic conception with a very limited universe and with the earth as its center. His hell is a deep pit extending from a point near the surface of the earth under Jerusalem, to the center of the earth, the entrance to which is like a path down some steep mountain-side. Purgatory is a mountain on the opposite side of the earth. Dante's heavens are located on the moon, the planets, the fixed stars, the *primum mobile* and the Empyrean beyond the stars. The fixed stars and the region beyond them are conceived of in terms which do little justice to the immensities of stellar space as understood by modern astronomy.

Genshin's hell is also an abyss but a rather vast one. Entrance to this abyss begins a thousand yodjanas [leagues] beneath the base of Mount Sumeru which mountain constitutes, as it were, the axis of every Buddhist universe. Mount Sumeru rises from the encircling ocean to a height of 84,000 yodjanas and its base extends an equal distance downward. The Realm of Hungry Spirits, the Realm of Beasts, the Realm of Angry Demons, the Human Realm and the Realm of Heavenly Beings (i. e., a sort of earthly paradise) are located around the base, up the slopes and on the top of this central mountain. The earthly paradise is divided into many divisions and the lower ones of these are located on top of this mythological mountain while the upper ones are found far up in the regions of infinite space. But what constitutes the true Paradise, namely, Amida's Western Paradise lies trillions of Buddha lands to the West, or

beyond the limits of the world as we know it.

Genshin's conception of time is also on a vast scale dealing as he does in the language of countless Kalpas. The length of one kalpa may be indicated by estimating how long it would take to wear down a large granite mountain if a little bird should graze it with the tips of its wings, say once in three years.

When one compares the work of the two writers in regard to originality of thought and literary merit the result would be usually very much in favor of the Florentine poet. As a matter of fact, Genshin's essays are, as we said above, largely a mere compilation of what he has read in the voluminous Buddhist scriptures. Sometimes he gives this in direct quotations and at other times in the form of summaries. It is only when we come to certain sections that deal with the beauties of Paradise that Genshin shows some originality, for while here too he quotes frequently from the scriptures he often draws on the charms of his own beautiful Japan. The lotus ponds, the crystal bathing pools, the bridges that span beautiful mountain streams, the lovely groves of trees and the artistic pavilions of luxury-loving tenth century Kyoto provide him with material for pictures of Paradise. In Genshin's time Kyoto culture had succeeded in blending the works of Chinese art with the natural beauty of Japan, and this seems to have made a great impression on this pious monk who, when he talks about human life as such, in good Buddhist fashion, pictures it as a sink of perdition and a cesspool of corruption. One is specially struck in his pictures of Paradise with the frequent mention of the Seven Precious things out of which everything in Paradise seems to be made. These Seven Precious things, or Treasures, are gold, silver, emerald, coral, agate, crystal and pearl. It should be added, however, that these belong only to the first stages of the heavenly life and that the higher ones are pictured entirely in terms of spiritual values.

The paucity of Genshin's vocabulary makes him rather monotonous in his descriptions. Dante, it may be remembered, in spite of his wealth of thoughts and words also gets rather monotonous when he dilates on the pleasures of Paradise, or as one critic has put it, it is "a dazzling sameness, a mystic indistinctness, an inseparable blending of the real and the unreal."

The influence which the two writers have exerted on the religious life of their times and in subsequent centuries is great in both cases. Genshin's influence was confined almost entirely to Japan, though a copy of the Ojo Yoshu was sent to the famous Tendai center of China where it excited considerable favorable comment among Buddhist scholars. At

any rate, it has exerted a big influence in Japan and over a long period of time. Though it was written about 950 years ago it is still being published as we have said and still being read, especially by humble Buddhist believers who would know what fate awaits them when they have passed on from this life to the realms beyond.

OJO YOSHU

This book represents selections by Abbot Eishin. It is written in easy Japanese and is illustrated so that it is easy to understand and even uneducated people, women and beginners, can remember and enter the way of enlightenment.

Abbot Eishin—Author—OJO YOSHU

Kyoto—Fushodo Publishers

THE ABBOT'S SONGS

The cloud of the heart which desires Paradise will become the cloud of welcome.

I was seeking the way of Buddha all through the night but it was really to find my own heart.

When I obtain enlightenment and enter the bright sunlight of understanding, immediately the shallow snow of sin melts away.⁽¹⁾

PREFACE

The teaching which shows how to obtain birth into Paradise and the easy way of training for becoming a Buddha, is for the sinners of this dark world just as easy as seeing with one's eyes or walking with one's feet. As it is such a blessed teaching, shall not all who seek with an earnest heart enter this way priests and laymen, men and women, the noble and the ignoble, the wise and the foolish? Only the revealed and the Hidden Teachings are comprehensive, and the causes and circumstances and the religious disciplines are numerous, but these are not difficult for the clever and wise who can easily understand things. But what about myself, one who is only a foolish man? I cannot comprehend these difficult things and walk in this hard way. That is why I have turned to the one gate of Nembutsu. I have now peace of heart and so have decided to set forth briefly in outline the teaching of the scriptures in regard to this matter. This should prove a help for easily understanding and for putting the teachings in practice.

There are ten divisions of the subject and these make three volumes. The ten divisions are the following :

1. Leaving the Unclean World.
2. Seeking Paradise.

(1) Not found in the Chinese Editions.

3. Evidences for the Existence of Paradise.
4. Correct Practice of the *Nembutsu*.
5. Methods of Promoting the *Nembutsu*.
6. *Nembutsu* for Special Times.
7. Benefits of *Nembutsu*.
8. Evidences for *Nembutsu*.
9. Various works Leading to Birth in Paradise.
10. Questions and Answers.

I put this on my right hand side and shall not forget.
Selections by Tendai head, Ryogenin Shamon Genshin.

OJO YOSHU TABLE OF CONTENTS⁽¹⁾

VOLUME ONE

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6. Hell of Great Lamentations.
7. Hell of Scorching Heat.
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VOLUME TWO

1. Realm of Hungry Spirits.
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1. Pleasures of Being Welcomed by Many Saints.
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3. Pleasures of Communicating Mysteriously Body and Forms.
4. Pleasures of the Five Wonderful Realms.
5. Pleasures of Happiness Which Never Fails.
6. Pleasures of Being Attracted and Making Covenants.

(1) This Table of Contents is not found in the Chinese Editions.

7. Pleasures of the Fellowship of the Saints.
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VOLUME I

Stories About Hell

CHAPTER ONE

Leaving the Unclean World

Leaving the Unclean World means to abhor and to depart from this impure world. It means to depart not only from this human world but also from the entire Six Realms. These all taken together constitute what is called the Three Worlds.⁽¹⁾ There is no peace in the Three Realms. The Buddha explained them by comparing them with a burning house and by saying that it is like living in a house which is on fire.⁽²⁾ It is a thing above all others from which to separate oneself with a feeling of disgust.

Now in order to make clear the various phenomena of this Unclean World we divide our subject into seven parts as follows: I. Hell; II. Realm of Hungry Spirits; III. Realm of Beasts; IV. Realm of Furious Demons; V. Realm of Humankind; VI. Realm of Heavenly Beings; VII. General Summary.

The first of the above divisions, namely Hell, is divided into eight divisions as follows: 1. Hell of Repetition; 2. Hell of the Black Rope; 3. Hell of All Living Beings; 4. Hell of Lamentations; 5. Hell of Great Lamentations; 6. Hell of Scorching Heat; 7. Hell of the Great Scorching Heat; 8. Hell of No-Interval.

CHAPTER TWO

Hell of Repetition

The Hell of Repetition is located one thousand *yodjanas* below this world. It is ten thousand *yodjanas* in length and in width. The sinners in this place are always bent upon injuring one another. If they meet any one by chance they act like a hunter would toward a deer. Whetting their iron claws they proceed to scratch each other's eyes out and

(1) Three Worlds (三界, sk. Trailokya) are World of Desire (欲界 sk. Kamadhatu), World of Pure Form (色界, sk. Rupadhatu) and World of Formlessness (無色界, sk. Arupadhatu).

(2) The sections in brackets are not found in the Chinese Editions.

lacerate the flesh on each other's thighs until the blood runs out and the bones are exposed. Thereupon come the hell wardens and beat them with iron rods from head to foot till their bodies are broken into fragments like grains of sand. And again they cut their flesh into slices with sharp swords as fish is sliced in the kitchen. But when the cool wind blows over the remains they come to life again and assume their former shape. After a short interval they are made to pass again through the same sort of agony. A voice from the sky cries out, saying: "Let all these beings come to life again!" Or the hell wardens, beating the ground with black iron pitchforks, shout: "Revive! Revive!" [Chidōron, 智度論, Yūgaron, 瑜伽論].

One day and night in the realm of the four Deva Kings is as long as fifty years of human life, and life in the realm of the Deva Kings lasts five hundred years. But one night and one day in this hell is equal in length to the length of life in the realm of the Deva Kings, and the victims have to remain in this hell five hundred years. All who destroy life in any form fall into this hell. [Kusha 俱舍, Shōhonenkyo 正法念經]⁽¹⁾.

On the outside of the four gates of this hell are sixteen special places which belong to this hell and which are also hells. The first of these is called the Place of Filth. This hell is filled with hot dung and filth which is very bitter in taste and full of worms with hard bills. The sinners are put into this hell and forced to eat this hot dung while the worms crawl all over them, chewing and piercing their skin, gnawing their flesh and even sucking the marrow from their bones. Those who have killed deer or birds fall into this hell.

The second place is called the Place of the Revolving Sword. It is enclosed with black iron walls ten *yodjinas* in height. It is filled with burning fire, in comparison with which an ordinary fire seems like snow. When the body comes into contact with this in the slightest way it shrivels up as small as a mustard seed. In this fire hot iron sticks rain down in heavy showers. There is in this place also a forest of swords which are so sharp that a hair or even the sign of a hair coming in contact with them is cut into fine bits. How much more then is this the case with the bodies of sinners! Sometimes the swords fall down like a large waterfall from the sky. So great is the confusion of agonies here that no one can endure it. Those who have destroyed life with a covetous spirit fall into this hell.

The third place is called the Place of the Fiery Caldron. In this hell

(1) These scriptures are not mentioned in the popular Edition.

the sinners are put into an iron caldron and boiled like one boils beans. Those who have killed, cooked and eaten animals fall into this hell.

The fourth place is called the Place of Much Suffering. In this place are innumerable trillions of pains. We cannot describe these in detail. Those who have bound people with fetters, beaten them with rods, compelled them to make long journeys, cast them down steep places, suffocated them with smoke, frightened children and, in short, all those who in any such ways have caused others to suffer, fall into this hell.

The fifth place is called the Place of the Black Calm. The sinners in this hell are in pitch darkness and they are constantly being wasted with a dark fire. Then a raging storm begins to blow which forces Diamond Mountain to clash with the surrounding mountains so that the bodies of the sinners are crushed between them and the fragments are scattered like grains of sand. After this a hot wind blows which cuts like a sharp sword. Those who have killed sheep by suffocating them with fire and those who have killed turtles by crushing them between tiles fall into this hell.

The sixth place is called the Place of No-Joy. In this hell is a big fire which burns the bodies of sinners day and night. There are in it birds with red hot beaks, dogs and foxes whose cries are so blood-curdling that the hairs of the victims stand on end. They continually come and gnaw away at the bones and flesh of the victims which lie around in a confused mass. Worms with hard snouts pierce the bones and suck out the marrow. Those who have blown shells, beaten drums and made dreadful noises, or those who have killed birds and beasts fall into this hell.

The seventh place is called the Place of the Most Severe Suffering. It is located on the edge of a steep cliff where sinners are continually burning in a fire of iron. Those who have ruthlessly killed anything fall into this hell.

(The above description is found in the *Shohonenkyo* (正法念經).⁽¹⁾ The

(1) *Shohonenkyo* or *Shohonenshokyo* (正法念所經), which is so frequently quoted in the *Ojo Yōshū*, was translated into Chinese from the Sanskrit in the sixth century. It consists of seven chapters dealing with the following subjects :

1. The results of the ten kinds of good conduct.
2. Birth and Death.
3. The different hells (Earthly Prison).
4. The condition of Pretas (Hungry Spirits).
5. The Birth as a Beast.
6. The conditions of Devas.
7. The Koya-Smṛity-upasthāna.

See Nanyo's Catalogue. No. 679

remaining nine hells are also given in this sutra to which the reader is referred for further information.

CHAPTER THREE

Hell of the Black Rope

The Hell of the Black Rope is located below the Hell of Repetition and is of the same size as the latter. The hell wardens seize the sinners and fling them face downward to the ground, which is made of hot iron. Then, after marking them with hot iron cords in both directions as a carpenter makes marks with his line, they cut them up into pieces with hot iron axes, following the markings. Sometimes they cut them up with saws, or disembowel them with swords and after slashing them into slices they hang them up to view. Sometimes they spread nets made of innumerable hot iron ropes and drive the sinners into these, and then an evil wind begins to blow which wraps the fiery nets around the sinners roasting the flesh and charring the bones. [Yugaron 瑜伽論, Chidoron 智度論]⁽¹⁾. On the right hand and the left are high iron mountains. On the top of these mountains are fastened flagstaffs made of iron and an iron rope is fastened at either end to these staffs and thus stretches from one mountain top to the other. Beneath this rope are placed in a row a number of large caldrons filled with a boiling, steaming substance. The sinners, with heavy burdens fastened on their backs, are forced to walk across on this rope, and naturally they can not help from falling into the boiling caldrons below. In these they are boiled for a long time till bones and flesh are reduced to an indistinguishable mass. [Kwanbutsu Sammaikyo 觀佛三昧經]⁽¹⁾.

If one compare the suffering in this hell with the suffering in the Hell of Repetition together with its sixteen special places, it is found to be ten times as severe. The hell wardens in tormenting the sinners say to them : "The heart is itself the chief enemy and causes the greatest evils. It binds men and sends them to appear before *Emma-O*. You must be roasted alone in hell and be devoured as a result of your evil work. Wife and children, brothers and sisters or relatives are all of them unable to save you."

Down to the fifth hell below this one the suffering increases tenfold in each hell over the preceding one. From this we may gather what is the intensity of the suffering in these hells. [Shohonenkyo 正法念經]. A hundred years of human life are equal in length to one day and night in

(1) These scriptures are not mentioned in the popular Edition.

Toriten,⁽¹⁾ and in this heaven life lasts a thousand years, but the length of life in Toriten is equivalent to only one day and night in this hell and here life lasts one thousand years. Those who have destroyed life or who have stolen anything fall into this hell.

Adjoining this hell is another one called the Place of Crying-Receiving-Pain. The sinners are placed on a precipice immeasurable yodjanas in height. They are tied together with black ropes of hot fire and when they have been thus lashed together they are pushed over the brink. As they fall they strike on the fiery ground below, which is studded with sharp swords as numerous as the blades of grass. Thereupon dogs with jaws of flaming iron chew them into fine bits, and though they cry out for help none are saved. Those who have been teachers of the Law but who have explained it with evil prejudices, thus failing to give the truth and indifferent to the consequences, and who then have committed suicide by throwing themselves over a precipice, fall into this hell.

There is another place called the Place of the Dreaded Eagle. The hell wardens here, wielding their iron clubs with great wrath, strike the sinners suddenly and do violence to them day and night. Sometimes they brandish their flaming iron swords and slash the victims, or drawing iron fiery bows with arrows affixed they cruelly shoot them, all the time driving them forward. Those who with a covetous spirit, have bound or killed others in order to rob them of their possessions, fall into this hell. [Shohonenkyo 正法念經⁽²⁾].

CHAPTER FOUR

Hell of Assembly

The Hell or Assembly is below the Hell of the Black Rope, and it is of same size as the latter. In this hell are numerous iron mountains arranged in pairs so as to face each other. There are in this place various ox-headed and horse-headed hell wardens who are armed with all sorts of pronged iron sticks and clubs which serve as instruments of torture. With these they drive the sinners before them and make them pass between the pairs of mountains, whereupon these mountains come together crushing the victims till the blood oozes out and covers the ground. Then again there are iron mountains tumbling from the sky which crush the sinners into fragments like grains of sand. Sometimes the victims are

(1) Toriten (忉利天) is the second of the six Devalokas, the six heavens of the World of Desire. This is a sort of Earthly Paradise but not the real paradise of Buddhism.

(2) These scriptures are not mentioned in the popular Edition.

placed upon a rock and crushed with another rock. Or again they are placed into an iron mortar and pulverized with an iron pestle. Out from the dungeons of evil come demons, lions, tigers, wolves and various other beasts made of flaming heat, crows and eagles all these crowd around and devour the victims. [Yugaron 瑜伽論, Dairon 大論].⁽¹⁾ Eagles with beaks of flaming iron catch away the entrails and, hanging them on the branches of trees, consume them. There is here also a large pond in which are fish hooks made of iron and heated to a white heat. The hell wardens, seizing the sinners, fling them down upon these hooks. The pond is filled with molten copper and through this the sinners are forced to swim. The bodies of some become red like the rising sun, while those of others sink like heavy stones. Still others stand and with uplifted hands cry out to heaven. There are also groups of those who weep and wail together. But however great the suffering is, there is none to help, none to save.

Sometimes the hell wardens seize the victims and put them into a forest of sword blades. As they look up to the top branches of the trees in this forest they see beautiful and well-dressed women, indeed the faces of those whom once they loved. This fills them with joy and so they try to climb up the trees, but when they do so the branches and leaves all turn into swords which lacerate the flesh and pierce and pierce the bones. Though they are terrorized by this their evil Karma still drives them on in their desire, and defying the swords they climb on. But when they reach the top they find the object of their desire below on the ground luring them to come down and each one saying to the lover on the tree : "Because of the Karma created by my passions for you I have come to this place. Why do you not come near me and embrace me?" Thus each one allures her victim from beneath the trees till the latter in their infatuation begin to climb down the tree again. But as they descend the leaves of the trees which are made of swords turn upward and thus lacerate their bodies. When they are about to reach the ground the women appear on the tops of the trees. Then the victims, overcome with passion, again climb up. This process goes on for ten trillion years. The cause of being thus deceived in this hell by one's own heart and the consequent suffering is one's own evil passion.

The hell wardens, while torturing the victims, quote from the Scriptures saying : "It is not a case of suffering the evil consequences of another's deeds, but you are suffering the consequences of your own evil deeds.

(1) These criptures are not mentioned in the popular Editions.

This is the way with all living beings," [Shohonenkyo 正法念經](¹)

Two hundred years of human life are equal in length to one day and night in Yamaten(²) where life lasts two thousand years, but one day and night in this hell is as long as life in Yamaten and in this hell the victims must remain two thousand years. Murderers, thieves, and adulterers fall into this hell.

Connected with this hell are sixteen separate hells. Among these is a hell called the Evil-Seeing Place. Those who with violence have committed fornication with other men's children fall into this hell and receive its tortures. The sinners think they see their own children in hell tortured by the hell wardens who take iron sticks and iron gimlets and thrust these into their privates, or using iron hooks they thrust them in and pull them out of the *vagina*. The sinners seeing this suffering of their children are filled with longing and pity for them so great that they can not endure the sight. But if one compares the suffering caused by seeing this with the suffering caused by being burned in the fire, it is not one-sixteenth as great. After being thus tortured by seeing their own children ill treated they receive the suffering in their own bodies. First the hell wardens stand the victims on their heads and boil them in a fluid of molten copper which runs in at the anus and through the internals, thus burning the vital organs and finally running out from the mouth and the nose.

The above mentioned kinds of suffering, namely, the suffering in heart and the suffering in body, continue for immeasurable hundreds of thousands of years.

There is another special place called the Place of Much Suffering. In this place are doomed to suffer such men as are guilty of sodomy. Here the victim, seeing the man he lusted with, embraces him with a passion like a hot flame which completely consumes his body. After he has died he comes to life again and runs away in great terror but only to fall over a terrible precipice where he is devoured by crows with flaming beaks and by foxes with mouths of flames.

Then there is another separate hell called the Place of Enduring Suffering. Here must suffer those who have stolen and violated other men's wives. The hell wardens seize the sinners and hang them with heads downward from the branches of trees. Beneath them is a raging flame which completely consumes their bodies. They come to life again and then are burned as before. When they cry out in agony the flames enter

(1) This Scripture is not mentioned in the popular Edition.

(2) Yamaten (夜摩天) is the third of the Six Devalokas.

their bodies and consume the vital organs. This suffering continues for immeasurable hundreds of thousands of years. Further description of this is found in the scriptures. [Shohonenkyo 正法念經].⁽¹⁾

CHAPTER FIVE

Hell of Lamentations

The Hell of Lamentations is located below the Hell of Assembly and it is of the same size as the latter. The heads of the hell wardens are yellow like gold, and from their eyes issue flames of fire. They are clothed in red garments and their arms and legs are fat. They are robust and tall and can run like the wind. From their mouths issue horrible voices and with their strong breath they pierce the sinners as with arrows. The sinners are terror-stricken and, beating their own heads, they beg for mercy. "Have mercy on us and grant us a little respite!" they cry, but this only increases the wrath of their tormentors, who beat them over their heads with iron clubs and chase them over the ground made of hot iron. Sometimes they place them on hot roasting shelves and turning them over and over again, they roast them. Sometimes they fling them into hot pans and boil them. And again they drive them into holes of iron filled with raging flames, or seize them and, after prying open their mouths with iron tongs, pour in molten copper which burns up their internal organs so that they flow out. [Yugaron 瑜伽論 Dairon 大論]⁽²⁾ The sinners quote the scriptures and cry out with a grudge against Emma-O saying: "O you honorable Ruler! Why do you not treat us with a heart of pity? Why are you not more gentle with us? We are vessels of sorrow. Why do you not show mercy toward us?"

Then Emma-O answers, saying: "You are deceived by the web of your own passions. You have created evil Karma and now you receive the reward of your evil works. Why are you angry with me and holding a grudge against me?" And he says further to them: "While you were in the world you were deceived by your heart of lust and folly and thus you created evil Karma. Why did you not at that time repent? Even though you repent now it avails nothing." (This is the heart of the Shohonenkyo 正法念經).

Four hundred years of human life are equal in length to one day and night in Tosotsuten⁽³⁾, and in this heaven life continues for four thousand

(1) This Scripture is not mentioned in the popular Edition.

(2) This Scripture is not mentioned in the popular Edition.

(3) Tosotsuten (都卒天) is the fourth of the Six Devalokas.

years ; but the length of life in Tosotsuten is equivalent to only one night and day in this hell and here life lasts four thousand years. Murderers, thieves, adulterers and drunkards fall into this hell.

This hell has sixteen special places. Among these is one called the Hell of Fire and Worms. Those who have sold sake diluted with water fall into this place and their bodies are afflicted with the four hundred and four diseases. The power of one of these diseases is such that in a single day and night it would destroy all the inhabitants of the Four Islands.⁽¹⁾ From the bodies of the victims come out worms which eat up the skin, flesh and marrow.

There is another place called Cloud-Fire-Mist. Those who have forced women to drink sake and then violated them bringing them to shame fall into this hell, and they are tortured with a flame which is twelve hundred feet deep. The hell wardens lay hold on them and force them to walk through this fire until they are consumed from head to foot. When they seem utterly destroyed the hell wardens call out : " Revive ! Revive ! " and they come to life again. Then they drive them through the fire again just as before, and thus without any intermission in their suffering this is kept up for immeasurable hundreds of thousands of years.

There is another place mentioned in the scriptures in which the hell wardens torment the sinners and quote from the scriptures saying : " One who drinks wine, even though he may be in the position of a Buddha, is sure to fall into doubt, and thus breaking the rules of the monkhood he destroys, as if by fire, the seeds of his salvation." (This is the heart of the Shohonenkyo 正法念經).

CHAPTER SIX

Hell of Great Lamentations

The Hell of Great Lamentations is located below the Hell of Lamentations and is of the same size as the latter. The suffering in this hell is of the same kind as in the other hells except that it is ten times greater than all the suffering in the preceding four hells and their separate sixteen compartments taken together. Eight hundred years of human life are equal in length to one day and night in Kerakuten⁽²⁾ where life lasts eight thousand years, but one day and night in this hell is as long as life in Kerakuten and here life continues for eight thousand years. Murderers,

(1) Four Islands means Japan with its four major islands.

(2) Kerakuten (化樂天) is the fifth of the Six Devalokas.

thieves, adulterers, drunkards and those who use evil language fall into this hell. The hell wardens torment the sinners while quoting the scriptures saying: "Evil language is the worst fire which burns up even the great ocean. Therefore the one who uses such language will be consumed like dry grass, trees or tinder."

. There are in this hell sixteen separate places, among which is one called Receiving-Boring-Suffering. Here the sinners' mouths and tongues are nailed together with hot iron nails so that they can not cry out.

Another place is called Receiving-Limitless-Suffering. Here the hell wardens cut out the victims' tongues with hot iron shears. After they have been cut out they grow on again but only to be cut out again. They also pull out their eyes just as they do their tongues, and without any intermission they slash their bodies with knives. These knives are so sharp that they can cut even iron and stone. How easily, then, do they cut human flesh! Such various and innumerable sufferings are the lot of all those who have used evil language. There are many such teachings in the scriptures. (This is the heart of the Shohonenkyo 正法念經).

CHAPTER SEVEN

Hell of Scorching Heat

The Hell of Scorching Heat is located below the Hell of Great Lamentations and is of the same size as the latter. The hell wardens seize the sinners and make them lie on the ground, which is made of hot iron. Sometimes they make them lie facing upward and sometimes downward, all the time beating and punching them from head to foot until their flesh is beaten into a pulp. Sometimes they place them on a large roasting shelf made of iron and heated to an intense heat. Thus they roast them in a raging flame. Turning them over first on one side and then on the other, they roast them until they are burned thin. Sometimes they fasten them on a large iron skewer, sticking these through them from the bottom to the head, and scorch them thoroughly till the flames enter the vital organs, their joints and bones, eyes, noses and mouths. Then again they place them in a large caldron and boil them like beans. And sometimes they place them on the upper floor of an iron house and cause raging flames of hot iron to envelop them from all directions, thus consuming even their bones and marrow. (This is the heart of the Yugaron 瑜伽論 and the Dairon 大論).

If one should put a portion of this fire as small as the light of a firefly into this world of ours it would consume this world in a short moment.

What must, then, be the suffering of these sinners whose bodies, tender like budding grass, are being burned in this hell eternally! The victims in this place look longingly up at the fires in the preceding five hells, for these seem by comparison cool like snow or frost. (This is the heart of the Shohonenkyo 正法念經).

Sixteen hundred years of human life are equal in length to one day and night in Takejizaiten⁽¹⁾ in which heaven life lasts sixteen thousand years, but the length of life in Takejizaiten is equivalent to only one day and night in this hell and here life continues for sixteen thousand years. Murderers, thieves, adulterers, drunkards, those who use vile language and heretics fall into this hell.

Outside the gates on the four sides of this hell are again sixteen special places among which is one called Fundarikiya (分荼離迦). Here the bodies of the sinners are roasted in a flame until there is not a spot as large as a mustard seed which is not burned.

All the people in this hell keep saying to one another: "All ye, come quickly, come quickly! Here is the Lake Fundarikiya. Here is water to drink. Here is the cool shade of a wood." Lured on by these words, the sinners rush forward, but on either side of the road are pits filled with fire into which they all fall and where they are consumed skin and bone. After a little while they come to life again and the terrible heat makes them long for the water and so they press on until they enter the place of Fundarikiya. Now the flames of Fundarikiya are five hundred yodjanas in height. When the victims have been burned to death in this flame they come to life again after a little while, and then this process is repeated as before. Into this hell fall all those who have starved themselves to death in the hope of thus earning their way into heaven, also those who have taught this heresy to others.

Another of the special places is called Dark-Fire-Wind. Here the sinners are carried up into the sky by an evil wind, and as they have nothing to which they can cling they are twirled around and around like the wheel of a cart so that they become invisible to the eye. And while they are being thus twirled around and around another wind arises which is sharp like a sword and which cuts them into pieces as small as grains of sand and then scatters the fragments in all directions. By and by the fragments come together again and the victims come to life once more, but only to be cut up and scattered as before. This process goes on endlessly. In this way are punished all heretics who hold the view that all

(1) Takejizaiten (他化自在天) is the Sixth of the Six Devalokas.

existence is divided into Things Permanent and Things Impermanent and the view that the Impermanent is the body and the Permanent, the Four Great Elements. (This is the heart of the Shohonenkyo 正法念經).

(Even an illiterate person can see that the one who holds such a view suffers from illusion, namely, the view that the Four Great Elements of earth, water, fire and wind constitute the Permanent, and that the body which dies and is dissolved into the Four Great Elements is impermanent and void. How, then, can such a one understand the real nature of things, namely, that there are fundamentally wonderful laws by which there is an interaction of the negative and positive principles in the Four Great Elements! In the world there are many people, priests and laymen, learned and unlearned, or even those who have superior knowledge but not enough really to enjoy the nature of things—who are not different from those who hold such errors.)

(What pitiable objects these are! They may be versed in the Three Teachings but their learning is only mouth and ear learning, a fancy for flowery words. They pride themselves on their great learning but if one looks into their inner heart and examines what they really say and enjoy then things seem quite different. Nevertheless, it is difficult to discriminate between the true and the false. Such people not only destroy the seeds of Buddhahood and are far from the circle of the saints; they can not fail to reap in things great and little the fruits of the seeds they have sown. I beseech you, therefore, to reform your self-centered views and go forward in your knowledge of the truth. Constantly embracing sorrow but finally finding constant joy, overcoming and being indifferent to poverty and wealth, to positions of honor and low estate, to sorrow and happiness, because knowing the principle of fundamental truth and not resting in false views but fearing the various hells, seek ye to live on the lotus leaf of Futai 不退).⁽¹⁾

CHAPTER EIGHT

Hell of the Great Scorching Heat

The Hell of the Great Scorching Heat is located below the Hell of Scorching Heat. It is of the same size as the latter and the kinds of sufferings here are also the same (Dairon, Yugaron), but ten times greater than the combined sufferings of the preceding six hells with their separate

(1) The last two paragraphs are not in the older Chinese Editions.

places of torture. It is impossible to describe the sufferings in this place. Life here lasts one-half a Middling Kalpa. Murderers, thieves, adulterers, those who use vile language, heretics and those who degrade nuns who keep the commandments of purity fall into this hell.

Such evil doers, first of all, are terrified at the sight which meets them as they look down into this hell and see its state. There are the hell wardens with horrible features, hands and feet of hot flames and their bodies tense with frightfulness. Their voices are like thunder and the sinners hearing these are all the more terror stricken. In their hands, these hell wardens brandish sharp swords. They inflate their bellies like black clouds. Their eyes flash like burning flames. Their curved tusks are sharp like lances. Their arms and hands are long and knotty, and when they grow angry their bodies become rough and terrifying so that the sinners are almost destroyed by the frightfulness of it all. Seizing the sinners they tie ropes around their necks and then drag them along for a distance of six thousand, eight hundred thousand yodjanas across lands and through bottoms of seas; and then coming out from the sea, they drag them on for another 360,000,000 yodjanas and finally descend gradually for another 100,000,000 yodjanas.

Among all winds the wind of Karma is the strongest, and it is in this way that the wind of Karma of men's evil deeds drags them to their doom. After they reach this place Emma-O tortures them in various ways. Then binding them with the rope of evil Karma he drags them toward this hell. From afar the victims catch sight of the raging flames of this Hell of the Great Scorching Heat as they belch forth. When they hear the cries of the victims who are already in this hell they are filled with sorrow and fear, and as they come gradually nearer they behold their immeasurable torments. And when they learn that this torture continues for immeasurable hundred thousand times ten thousand hundred millions of years the terror that enters their hearts becomes ten times greater than it was when they had merely heard the wailings of the victims. Then the hell wardens, taking each sinner separately, torments him saying: "Are you frightened as you hear the cries and see with your eyes? How much more then will you be terror-stricken when your body is burning like dry grass and tinder! However, the burning by fire here is not that of a literal fire but rather the hot passion of your evil Karma. The burning of fire may be extinguished, but the burning of evil Karma can not be put out." Tormenting them thus, they drag the victims toward this hell from which rise up great volumes of flames 500 yodjanas in height and 200 yodjanas in breadth. The power of evil Karma which the sinners have created for

themselves suddenly hurls them into this raging flame. It is like flinging one over a fearfully high precipice. (Thus far is the heart of the main outline of the Shohonenkyo 正法念經).

Outside the gates on the four sides of this Hell of the Great Scorching Heat are sixteen separate places. Among these is a place which is filled so completely with flames that there is not a spot as large as the eye of a needle where there is no flame. The sinners in this fire, raising their voices, resentfully cry out continually, saying: "The flames burn without ceasing for immeasurable ten millions of years." Those who have violated pure laywomen fall into this hell.

There is another place called Fully-Receiving-All-Suffering. Here the hell wardens, taking out their swords of flames, skin the victims from head to foot and then, without cutting the flesh, they place the raw skinned bodies on the hot iron ground and roast them. Then they pour over them molten iron. In this way they are tortured through immeasurable ten million thousand years. Those who have deceived nuns by giving them strong drink and destroyed their souls so that they have become immoral fall into this hell; also those who have corrupted women with riches.

The remaining separate places of this hell are described in the scriptures. (This is the heart of the Shohonenkyo 正法念經).

CHAPTER NINE

Hell of No-Interval—Abijigoku

Abijigoku (阿鼻地獄) is the Hell of No-Interval. It is situated below the Hell of the Great Scorching Heat and is at the bottom limit of the Realm of Passions. As the sinners approach this hell from the sky above, they wail with a great lamentation, quoting from the Scriptures these words: "Everything is nothing but flames. In the sky there is not a space without flames and the whole land in every direction is covered with them. The whole land is filled with evil doers and there is no room for me. I am alone and like an orphan without a friend. I am in a dark and evil place. I am enveloped in a great raging flame. I can see neither moon nor sun in the sky." Thus they wail. Thereupon the hell wardens reply with wrathful severity, saying: "You fools, we shall burn some of you for a period of an Increasing Kalpa and others of you for a period of a Decreasing Kalpa. You have already created your evil Karma and do you now repent? You are not Asuras, Gandharas or Dragon Demons of the Heavenly Realm. You are caught in the meshes of your own deeds.

You fools, how can others save you since this is not the result of the deeds of others? If you compare the suffering as you see it from the sky with the suffering which you will have to undergo in this hell, it is like comparing a drop of water with the waters of the great ocean. Your present suffering is like the drop of water, your later suffering like the waters of the great ocean." Tormenting the victims with these words, they drag them toward this hell for 25,000 yodjanas, and as the sinners hear the wailings of the victims in hell, their terror, as the hell wardens had said, is increased tenfold until their souls are consumed with fear as in a nightmare. For two thousand years they are flung headlong down toward this infernal abyss. (This is the heart of the Shohonenkyo 正法念經).

This Abijigoku is 80,000 yodjanas in length and breadth. Within the sevenfold walls made of iron, there are seven folds of iron nets. Below the walls are eighteen compartments and around the walls are forests of swords. At each of the four corners there is a copper dog whose height is 40 yodjanas. The eyes of these dogs are lightning, their tusks are swords, their teeth are mountains of swords and their tongues are like thorns of iron. From the pores of their skin issue flames, the smoke of which is a stench so horrible that it can not be compared with anything in this world. The heads of the eighteen hell wardens are like that of Rasetsu⁽¹⁾ and their mouths resemble Yashas.⁽¹⁾ From their sixty-four eyes they emit iron balls. Their curved tusks project upward for four yodjanas, and from the tips of these fire streams forth filling the walls of Abijigoku. On top of their heads they have eight oxen heads with eighteen horns attached to each head. From the tips of these horns issue forth flames.

And again within the sevenfold walls are seven iron banners. From the ends of the banner staffs fire gushes forth like a fountain and fills the enclosure. Near the gates on the four sides are eight caldrons from which bubbles up molten copper which fills the enclosure. In each of the separate compartments there are 84,000 iron bees and large serpents which vomit poison and fire. Their bodies fill the enclosures and the barking voices of the serpents are like a hundred thousand thunderclaps. Large iron balls rain down and fill the place. There are fifty billions of worms in this place and from their eighty-four thousand snouts fire flows down like falling rain. When these worms come down the fire in this hell flares up furiously and lights up everything for a distance of 84,000 yodjanas. In this hell are gathered those who suffer the most severe of the 8,000,000,000,000 pains. (This is the heart of the Kwanbutsu 觀佛

(1) Rasetsu, Yasha, the names of demons

Sammaikyo 三昧經).

In the fourth volume of the Yugaron 瑜伽論 it is said that in the Great Iron Land of Three Heats which lies to the eastward one hundred yod-janas there is a furiously raging fire whose leaping flames pierce these beings so capable of suffering. The flames bore through the skin, lacerate the flesh, crush the bones, enter the marrow and consume it. It is like pouring oil on dry tinder and setting fire to it when the wind blows. The whole body is shrivelled up by the furious flames. These mounting flames come not only from the east but also from the south, the west and the north. As these suffering beings are consumed by these flames leaping together from the four directions, the sparks from their burning bodies ascend together and the whole thing becomes one raging flame. Everything is filled with it in all directions and not a space is left untouched. There is also not the slightest interval when their suffering ceases. The sinners here are innumerable, and while they can not see one another they can know that others are there with them from the cries of pain that fill the place. Sometimes the hell wardens winnow them with an iron winnow filled with iron coals of Three Heats. Then again they place the victims on the hot iron ground and make them climb up and down a large hot iron mountain. They pull out the tongues from their mouths, drive hundreds of nails into them as one drives nails in stretching a cow's hide, until there is no room for more, and, forcing them to lie on their backs on a surface of hot iron, they pry open their mouths with hot iron sticks and pour in streams of iron of Three Heats until their mouths and throats are burned and their entrails are consumed so that they flow out below. Then again they pour molten copper into their mouths and this enters into their internals and consumes the vital organs until they flow out below. (This is the heart of the Yugaron 瑜伽論. By the Three Heats is meant, Burning, Extreme Burning, and Widely-Extreme Burning).

The suffering in this Abijigoku is a thousand times greater than the combined sufferings of the preceding seven great hells and their separate places. The suffering in this hell is so severe that the victims envy the victims in the Hell of Great Scorching Heat, for the suffering in the latter seems to them like the pleasures in Takejizaiten. If the beings under the four heavens and the beings in the six Devalokas of Kamadhatu should smell the stench of this hell they would perish utterly. The reason is because all the victims of this hell are filled with putrefaction. If it be asked why the stench does not reach up to us the answer is that it is because there are two high mountains, the one called Mount of Appearing and the other Mount of Disappearing, which shut off the stench from us.

If a person should hear all about the sufferings in this hell he could not endure it and it would kill him. How terrible, then, it must be! Not one-thousandth of the horrors of this Abijigoku has been told, for it cannot be described. No one could listen to the description, nor can it be compared with anything else. If any one should describe it thoroughly or listen to a full description of it, he would vomit blood and die. (This is the heart of the Shohonenkyo 正法念經).

According to the Kusharon (俱舍論), life in this bottomless hell lasts for the period of a Middling Kalpa.

Those who have committed the Five Crimes,⁽¹⁾ denied the law of Karma, made light of the Mahayana doctrine, committed the Four Cardinal Sins,⁽²⁾ and received alms without making any returns, fall into this hell. (This is the heart of the Kwanbutsu Sammaikyo 觀佛三昧經).

Outside of the four gates of this bottomless hell are sixteen separate places belonging to it. Among these is one called Iron-Plane-Fox-Eating-Place. Over the bodies of the sinners in this place the flames of fire rage for a distance of ten yodjanas. Among all the hells the torments in this hell are the most severe. Iron tiles rain down upon the victims, crushing their bodies and pulverizing their bones. Foxes with flaming jaws continually come and devour them. In this way the victims are tormented without ceasing. Those who have set fire to pagodas and temple buildings, burned images of Buddha, burned the homes of priests and burned the bed-room furniture of priests, fall into this hell. There is another separate place called Black-Vomit-Place. Here the victims are so hungry and thirsty as a result of the heat which burns their bodies that they devour their own flesh. When, however, they have apparently consumed themselves they come to life again and begin once more to devour themselves. There is in this place a black-bellied serpent which coils itself around the bodies of the sinners and then gradually devours them from the feet up. Then again the victims are placed in a hot flame and roasted, or they are thrown into a large caldron and boiled. Their bones and flesh are melted like ice in the spring, and this mass, mingling with the fire, unites to make one huge, raging flame. In this way the victims must endure inconceivable tortures of one kind and another for endless millions of years. Those who have stolen anything offered to a Buddha and eaten it, fall into this hell.

There is a further separate place called Rain-Mountain-Gathering-

(1) Five Crimes are: Parricide, Matricide, Killing a saint, Disturbing the peace of the monks and Opposing the Buddha.

(2) Four Cardinal Sins are: Killing, Stealing, Adultery, and Evil Language.

Place. This is an iron mountain one yodjana in height and it falls on the victims pulverizing them like fine dust. After this they come to life again but only to be crushed a second time. There are here also eleven flames which completely enfold the victims and burn them.

Sometimes the hell wardens take their swords and slash the bodies of the sinners all over and then pour molten lead into the wounds. Then again the sinners are afflicted with the four hundred and four ills, and in various ways they are tortured for immeasurable millions of years. Those who have stolen and eaten offerings made to a Pratyeka Buddha fall into this hell.

There is another place called Embado (閻婆度). In this place there is an evil bird called Emba (閻婆). The size of this bird is that of an elephant. It has a bill like a sword and this sends forth a flame. Seizing the sinners it carries them with flapping wings high up into the sky and, after soaring about for a while, drops them so that they plunge down like huge boulders and with such violence that their bodies are broken into hundreds of thousands of bits. But the fragments assemble again and the victims come to life, only, however, to be seized a second time and carried up and dropped. Their feet are lacerated by sharp swords with which the road is studded as thickly as growing grass. Dogs with teeth of flames come and gnaw and then devour them. In such ways they are tortured without ceasing. Those who plotted against others and starved them to death fall into this hell.

Further accounts may be found in the scriptures. (This is the heart of the Shohonenkyo 正法念經).

In the fourth volume of the Yugaron 瑜伽論, dealing in general with the separate places adjoining the eight great hells, we read: "All the Great Abysses have on each of the four sides a bank, a gate and an iron lattice fence which encloses them. The pieces of this fence are so close together that one can not even stick a finger between them. As one comes out through these four gates one enters a garden on each of the four sides. In each of these gardens is a hidden fire which is knee-deep. As the victims emerge from the gates seeking a place of rest and meandering along, they sink into this hidden fire and their flesh, tendons and bones are all burned, but as they pull their legs out they become whole again. Immediately adjoining this place of the hidden fire is another place filled with dead bodies, dung and mud. As the victims seek to escape from the place of the hidden fire and find rest, before they have barely got out of that place they fall into this place of dead bodies, dung and mud and they are covered from head to feet with this vile mass. Moreover, this

vile stuff is filled with worms called *Hikuta* (蟻矩吐) which bore their way through the skin of the victims, enter the flesh and cut the tendons. They even enter the bones and consume the marrow.

Immediately adjoining this place of dead bodies, dung and mud is a road studded with spears and swords. As the victims emerge seeking a place of rest, they come to this road and suddenly they are cut all to pieces, but as they lift their feet they become as before.

Next to the road of spears is a forest of swords. The victims enter this forest seeking rest in its shade, but suddenly a strong wind arises which causes the leaves made of swords to fall upon the victims and pierce their bodies. And as they fall to the ground a troop of black dogs rushes at them and tears these hundreds of bodies to pieces and devours them.

Adjoining this forest of swords is a grove of pear trees on which grow iron thorns like spears. The sinners seeking a place of rest enter this grove, and when they climb up the trees the thorns of spears bend downward and pierce them. When they climb down from the trees the thorns of spears turn upward and pierce their bodies. Thereupon large crows with iron beaks light upon their heads or their shoulders and peck out their eye balls.

Near this grove of thorns is a large, wide river filled with boiling water and hot ashes. The victims, as they flee from the grove of thorns, next fall into this river, and here they are carried up and down by the boiling water like beans boiled in a kettle over a hot fire. And, more terrible still, stationed along this river are a number of hell wardens who are armed with goads and forks, ropes and large nets, and with these they prevent the victims from escaping from this river. For the victims to try to escape from this river is as vain as a mantis fighting against an axe, or a monkey trying to grab the moon. Sometimes the hell wardens tie ropes around the victims' necks or catch them in their nets and then make them lie face upward on a surface of hot iron, all the while beating them with hot iron rods and reproaching them by saying: "Why did you do the deeds which cause you to suffer thus? Speak the truth and tell the facts!" Then the sinners with terror in their faces reply: "It is because we were ignorant from the beginning and driven on by hunger." Thereupon the hell wardens take iron sticks and with them pry open their mouths and then thrust in iron bolts of intense heat. Other victims reply, saying: "It is because we were merely thirsty for a drink of hot water." In answer to this the hell wardens take molten copper and pour it into the sinners' mouths. In this way the victims are tortured with immeasurable tortures, for one must suffer for the evil deeds

committed in this life, and as long as the evil Karma is not exhausted it is impossible to get out of hell.

The road studded with spears, the forest of swords, the thicket of iron thorns and so forth, make together one of the four groups of hells which lie outside the four gates of the central hells and thus there are four such gardens.

(The above is the heart of the Yugaron 瑜伽論 and the Kusharon 俱舍論).

(Outside the four gates of a hell according to one Sutra there are four gardens, thus making sixteen in all. The sixteen separate places attached to each of the eight great hells mentioned in the Shohonenkyo 正法念經, are all different from one another in their nature.)(¹) There are also eight cold hells such as Afuda 額部陀 which we find described in detail in the sutras and Abhidharma Pitaka, but we have no time to mention these here.

II

Realm of Hungry Spirits

The Realm of Hungry Spirits consists of two places. One of these is situated 500 yodjanas below the earth. This is the world of King Emma. The second place is situated between the Human Realm and the Realm of Heavenly Beings. The beings in the Realm of Hungry Spirits have many shapes and forms, but I shall mention only a few of them.

There are for example some whose bodies are only one foot in height, others with bodies about the same size as human beings, while there are others whose form is one thousand yodjanas in height. Some are like snow-peaked mountains. [Daishukyo 大集經].(²) Some are demons called Kettle-Body which are twice the size of a man. They have neither faces nor eyes, and their hands and feet are without fingers and toes like the legs of a tripod. The place being filled with flames, their bodies are roasted. Those who in this life coveted wealth and burned others to death receive this reward.

Then there are hungry spirits called Eating-and-Vomiting whose bodies are very broad and a half yodjana in height. Their stomach and chest feel heavy, and so they continually try to vomit, but as they can not succeed in this they suffer in various ways. Those husbands who in this life ate the good food themselves and gave nothing to their wives and

(1) The section in parenthesis is in the form of a note in the Chinese editions, though in the popular edition it appears as part of the main text.

(2) This scripture is not mentioned in the popular edition.

children, and such wives as ate all the good food themselves and gave nothing to their husbands, receive this reward.

Then, again, there are hungry spirits called Eating-Odour who have to live on the smell of the food which sick people offer along the rivers or in forests. Those who in this life allowed wife and children only to smell the good food which they themselves ate, receive this reward.

There are hungry spirits called Eating-Law who run about on steep places where it is difficult to walk, seeking food but finding none. If they enter a temple and hear an exposition of the Law they obtain strength and manage to live. Those who in this life sought to obtain fame by a false interpretation of the Law receive this reward.

Then there are hungry spirits called Eating-Water whose bodies are parched with thirst. They rush about in search for water but cannot find even a drop. Their long hair covers their faces so that they can not see. They run along the river banks and if there are people crossing they lap up the water which may be left in their foot prints, and thus moistening their parched throats they manage to exist. Or when people make an offering of water to the spirits of their departed parents they give a little to these spirits and so they prolong their lives. If the spirits try to take some of this water themselves then the various demons whose function it is to guard the water beat them with sticks. Those who in this life mixed water with the sake they sold or those who put in earth worms and leeches and so did not fulfill the good Law receive this reward.

There are still other hungry spirits called Fear-Hope who live on the offerings which people make to their departed parents. Beside this they have nothing on which to live. Those who in this life rob the poor of even the little they have acquired through great efforts receive this reward.

Then, again, there are hungry spirits who are born on the seashore where there is neither cool shade nor river water and where it is so hot that even their winter days are more than a thousand times hotter than summer days on earth. They subsist on obtaining only the morning dew. Though they live on the sea shore the sea looks to their eyes like a dry place. Those who in this life have taken advantage of merchants who have been overtaken with illness on their journey and have beaten down their prices and so robbed them receive this reward.

There are other hungry spirits who for lack of food go to cemeteries and eat the cremated bodies, but this does not stay their hunger. Those who in this life were prison wardens and who ate the food intended for the prisoners receive this reward.

There are further hungry spirits who are born among the trees and who suffer great tortures by being squeezed between the trunks of large trees like Tokusa 木賊 worms. Those who in this life cut down the cool forests, the trees in groves or the trees in temple groves receive this reward. [Shohonenkyo 正法念經].⁽¹⁾

There are hungry spirits the hair of whose heads hangs down and envelops their bodies. The hairs are like swords and so lacerate their bodies, or they change into flames and so burn their bodies by enfold-ing them from all sides.

There are other hungry spirits who give birth to five children every night and day. Driven on by their hunger they consume these children but even then their hunger is not stayed. [Roku Haramitsukyo 六波羅密經].⁽¹⁾

Then there are hungry spirits who have nothing at all to eat, and so they break open their own skulls and eat their brains.

Again, there are hungry spirits who emit flames from their mouths and live upon the moths which happen to fly into these flames.

There are hungry spirits who feed on pus, phlegm and the remains of the washings of human dung. [Dairon 大論].⁽¹⁾

And there are hungry spirits who can obtain nothing to eat because of various obstacles. For example, some have become so emaciated by their continual hunger and thirst that they are so weak that even a gentle spring breeze would blow them over. At times they succeed in finding a stream of pure water but when they rush to it and try to scoop up the water in their hands demons of great strength come along and beat them with iron clubs, or the water suddenly turns into flames and burns them or it ceases to flow and is dried up. There are other hungry spirits who can not eat anything because of some defect in their bodies. For example, some of them have stomachs as big as a large mountain but mouths as small as the eye of a needle, and so even when they find food and drink they can not make use of them. There are other hungry spirits who though they are free from any obstacles either within or without nevertheless can not satisfy their hunger or slake their thirst, for when they eat even the smallest bite it at once changes into a fierce flame and so burns their vitals until they flow out. [Yugaron 瑜伽論].⁽²⁾

Thus the victims in the Realm of Hungry Spirits suffer in various ways, each one according to the punishment that is meted out to him. One

(1) These scriptures are not mentioned in the popular edition.

(2) This scripture is not mentioned in the popular edition.

day in this realm is as long as one month of human life and existence here lasts for 500 years.

The Shohonenkyo 正法念經 says that those who are cruel, covetous, jealous and envious fall into this Realm of Hungry Spirits.

[By the cruel and the covetous are meant those who think only of their own things, who do not love others or give alms, and those who are never satisfied no matter how much they rob others. According to the teachings of the Hotoke our desires should be limited as much as possible. To limit one's desire means to know how to be content with even a little. What shall we say then? If the heart is content, then eating simple food drinking plain water and using the elbow as a pillow is true happiness. Jealousy means to hate and envy people. Fear, then, rewards in the Realm of Hungry Spirits. Open wide your heart and be tranquil in mind. Do not commit evil against others. If you err, rectify your error. Think no jealous thoughts but constantly live at peace.](¹)

III

Realm of Beasts

The Realm of Beasts is divided into two parts. The chief place is in the great sea and branches are interspersed in the Realms of Humans and Heavenly Beings. If one should go into details, it would be found that there are 3,400,000,000 kinds of beings in this realm. We may classify all these under three general heads, namely, birds, beasts, insects and worms.

The various creatures in this Realm of Beasts have a spirit for injuring. The small ones are swallowed up by the large ones and the weak are devoured by the strong. Without intermission day or night these creatures mutually inflict suffering upon one another. There is ever present a heart of fear. What shall we say of all this? The various creatures that live in water are killed by fishermen. Those that walk on land have their lives taken by hunters. Furthermore, such beasts like horses, cattle, elephants and so forth are beaten over the head with clubs, with hooks made of iron, or they are pulled along by their pierced snouts, or with a bridle fixed in their mouths they are forced constantly to carry heavy burdens while they are being lashed with whips. As they go along they seek to drink water and eat grass but are not allowed to do this. Then there are various sorts of badgers, rats and wolves which are

(1) The last paragraph is not in the older Chinese editions but only in the modern popular editions.

born in the darkness and die in darkness. Fleas, lice and their brood live on man's body and are killed by man. Then there are the various kinds of dragons which receive day and night and without intermission the tortures of the Three Heats. There are also various creeping things with large and long bodies. These are deaf and slow of mind. They are without legs and so they coil, roll and slide on their bellies and for this reason are constantly being bitten by various kinds of small insects. Then there are creatures very small like the moths that float in the sunlight which streams in at the window. There are others as small as rabbit's hair split into a hundred or a thousand parts. But on the other hand, there are creatures whose bodies are 10,000 yodjanas in length.

Thus there are various sorts of beasts. They one and all are subject to innumerable tortures some for one time, others for seven times and still others suffer from one Kalpa to a hundred, thousand, ten thousand or hundred millions of Kalpas.

This is the reward meted out to the ignorant and those who are without a sense of shame and who in vain receive the alms bestowed by men of faith but who do not repay such kindness. [Selection from various Scriptures].⁽¹⁾

IV

Realm of Angry Demons—Ashura

The Realm of Angry Demons is divided into two parts. The creatures of this realm which are fundamentally superior live at the bottom of the great sea north of Mount Sumeru. The inferior creatures of this realm dwell among the rocks of the high mountains which lie between the four great continents. When it thunders these creatures are in great confusion for they think it is the attacking drum of Heaven and their hearts are in great terror and pain. They are continually fighting with the creatures of all the heavens. They are attacked and they suffer injury in body, being broken and killed. Three times every day and night the creatures of this realm fight and groan and cry. [Their cries sound like a hundred or a thousand thunder claps. They slash one another and their lacerated bodies are hurled down so that their crushed bones and streaming blood flow down like one huge red wave. Spears and daggers appear of themselves and injure the bodies of these creatures.](²) So various are the sufferings in this realm that they cannot be enumerated.

(1) This is not in the popular edition.

(2) This section is not in the Chinese Editions.

Realm of Human Beings

In explaining the Realm of Human Beings we divide it roughly into three states. And let us observe carefully that there are three states, namely, the State of Impurity, the State of Suffering and the State of Impermanency.

In the first state, the State of Impurity, there are various kinds of impurity. In every human body there are 360 bones. The joints of these bones mutually support each other. [By this is meant that they hold each other in place like the links of a chain.](¹) First the bones of the toes support the bones of the feet. The bones of the feet support the bones of the ankles. The bones of the ankles support the bones of the lower legs. The bones of the lower legs support the bones of the knees. The bones of the knees support the bones of the thighs and hips. The bones of the thighs and hips support the bones of the back. The bones of the back support the bones of the shoulders. The bones of the shoulders support the bones of the neck. The bones of the neck support the bones of the jaws. The bones of the jaws support the bones of the teeth. Above these is the skull. Again the bones of the neck support the bones of the shoulders. The bones of the shoulders support the bones of the arms. The bones of the arms support the bones of the forearms. The bones of the forearms support the bones of the hands. The bones of the hands support the bones of the fingers. Thus the bones, one by one gradually form as it were a chain, and so the 360 bones and the various connecting joints together constitute the frame of the human body, just like a rotten dilapidated house. Four slender veins pass everywhere through the 500 muscles. Again, six veins hang together, five hundred muscles are bound together and seven hundred slender veins are netted together all like sticky clay. The sixteen coarse veins run like a chain through the body, being all connected with each other. There are two strands of muscles three and a half arm spans in length which are gathered together in knots. The sixteen intestines and the stomach envelop the vital organs of life-heat. The twenty-five "breathing tubes" are like so many air holes, and the hundred and seven little chambers are like a broken and splintered instrument. The eighty thousand hair holes are covered as with tangled grass. The five sense organs and the seven chambers are filled with impure things. The body is covered with a sevenfold skin and it is nou-

(1) This line is not in the Chinese Edition.

rished by the six tastes, and yet the whole life is one of dissatisfaction and the greedy heart finds no rest. Such a body is all rotten and impure so that the self-nature is wholly vile. Who, then, can love or be proud of such a thing? [Hoshakukyo 寶積經].⁽¹⁾

Again, it is said that there are five organs in the belly which are spread out like leaves bound together and facing downward. Their shape is like a lotus. There are tubes connecting the inside with the outside. Each one of these is ninety fold. The lungs are uppermost and the color is white. The liver is blue-green. The heart is in the middle and its color is red. The spleen is yellow. The kidneys are at the bottom and their color is dark. There are also six abdominal viscera. The large intestines are the viscera for transmission, as are also the tubes of the lungs. The length is three and a half arm spans and the color is white. The gall bladder is the viscera for purifying, as are also the channels of the liver. Their color is blue-green. The small intestines are the viscera for transmitting energy, and so are also the arteries of the heart. The length of the smaller intestines is sixteen arm spans and their color is red. The stomach is the viscera for the "five cereals." Three sho ⁽²⁾ of feces are inside and the color of the feces is yellow. The bladder is the viscera for the urine and so are also the kidneys. The bladder holds one to ⁽³⁾ of urine. Its color is dark. The Three Heats are the viscera for the feces. Being thus arranged the large and small intestines, mingling their red and white colors and coiling about each other eighteen times, present the appearance of the coils of poisonous serpents. And furthermore, from the top of the head to the bottom of the feet and from the marrow of the bones to the skin outside, the whole body is permeated with the eighty thousand chamber worms of various shapes each one having four heads four mouths and ninety-nine tails. In each chamber of the body there are ninety thousand small worms which are smaller than the tips of a rabbit hair. [Zenkyo Shidai Zenmon 禪經 次第 禪門].⁽⁴⁾

In the Hoshakukyo 寶積經 we read: "Seven days after a man is born eighty thousand worms are born in his body and begin to gnaw their way in all directions. There are worms of two chambers called Paper-Hair which live at the roots of the hairs and which constantly gnaw away at them. Then there are worms of two chambers called Encircling-Eye which live

(1) This Scripture is not mentioned in the popular edition

(2) One sho equals 1.588 qts.

(3) One To equals 10 sho or 3.97 gallons. Evidently a To in Genshin's day was smaller than the modern To

(4) These Scriptures are not mentioned in the popular edition.

in the eyes and gnaw away at them. There are four other worms which live in the throat and gnaw away there. Then there are worms called Rice-Leaves which live in the ears and gnaw at them. Other worms called Storehouse-Mouth live in the nose and gnaw at it. Then there are two worms, which gnaw at the lips, one being called Far-Striking and the other Universal Striking. There is one called Needle-Mouth which gnaws at the tongue. Five hundred worms gnaw away on the left side of the body and five hundred on the right side. Four worms gnaw at the vital organs and two at the heat organs. Again, there are four worms living in the urine channel which gnaw away there and four living in the rectum and which gnaw at the feces there. Worms called Black-Heads live in the feet and consume them. Thus the whole body is infested with these eighty thousand worms which day and night gnaw away at it and consume it. They make the body feverish, cause the heart to feel grief and give rise to the various diseases which even good physicians can not eradicate or cure. [Selections from Gojugoshichi, 第五十五七略抄].⁽¹⁾

It is said in the scriptures that when a man is about to die all these worms in his body become terrified and begin to gnaw at and devour each other. It is for this reason that the patient suffers the various agonies which cause great surprise and sorrow to the relatives as they stand around the dying man. The worms keep up this fight with one another till finally only two of them are left, and these two keep up the combat for seven days. After seven days one of them is killed and the other survives.

Thus it is that even though one eats at a table of delicious foods of various kinds, after one night all becomes impure and turns into vile dung and urine. The same is true of the body itself; it is impure from childhood to old age. We may wash with all the waters of the great ocean and yet we can not make it clean. Though we cover it outwardly with beautiful clothes, inside is all impurity. It is like a painted jar full of dung. [Dairon Shikwan 大論 止觀].⁽¹⁾

In a poem of the Zenkyo 禪經 we read: "Though they know that the body is rotten and impure, the ignorant still love it. They see only the outward color of the face but do not observe the impurity inside." Moreover, after death, when the body is cast away on the burial place, after a period of from one to seven days it swells up and its color is changed to blue as it rots. The skin comes off and the pus and blood flow out. Eagles, hawks, fish-hawks, crows, foxes, wolves and various kinds of birds

(1) These scriptures are not mentioned in the popular edition

and beasts tear it up and devour it. After the birds and beasts devour it the body becomes an impure mass filled with innumerable worms and is mixed up in a rotten heap. Men abhor this even more than they do a dead dog, and as they pass by they hold their noses. When the bones are whitened the joints become disconnected, and the arms, legs, and skull are scattered hither and yon by the wind. They are exposed to the sun and bespattered by the rain and covered with frost till the color of the bones is changed and they are gradually pulverized, mixed with the dust and so revert to dirt. [Dai Hannya Shikwan 大般若止觀⁽¹⁾ Hakurakuten (白樂天) in his poem says: "Where is now the rosy face of Seishi 西施? She has become whitened bones and has rotted away on the heath.]"⁽²⁾ May we realize that this body of ours is nothing but impurity from beginning to end. All men and women who love each other are nothing more. What man of wisdom, then, will love? "Therefore we read also in the Shikwan 止觀: "If we do not yet understand this state our love is very strong; but when we understand we give up all the passions of the heart and no longer allow it to cling. For example, if one does not see the dung one can eat food, but as soon as one smells the stench one feels nauseated. Again we read: "If this state is understood it seems as if the high eyebrows, the blue eyes, the white teeth and red lips were covered with the powder of dung. It is as if red powder were put temporarily upon a rotting corpse. How, then, can we look upon the body with our eyes, and, still worse, come near to it and embrace it with lustful pleasure? To be in this state is to be in the Great-Yellow-Hot-Water of lustful disease."

The second state is the State of Suffering. This body of ours, from the time of its birth, is continually subject to suffering. It is as we read in the Hoshakukyo 寶積經, "A baby when it is born, be it a boy or a girl, as it is held in the arm or wrapped in its clothes, suffers greatly from the heat in the summer and from the cold in winter. If suffer just as intensely as a skinned ox would if he touched a wall. After the child grows older it still suffers much." In the same scripture it is explained how this body of ours is subject to two kinds of suffering. Various diseases afflict the eyes, ears, nose, tongue throat, teeth, chest abdomen, hands and feet. Thus the body is attacked by the four hundred and four diseases. This is called internal suffering.

Again when a man is put into prison he is subjected to various sorts of

(1) These scriptures are not mentioned in the popular edition.

(2) This poem is not in the Chinese editions.

tortures. For example, the ears and nose may be cut off, or the hands and feet, and so the various devils and evil spirits take advantage of the victim and inflict pain. Mosquitoes, horseflies, bees, scorpions, crickets, ants and various poisonous insects sting and bite the body. Cold and heat are hard to endure, and hunger and thirst cause much pain. Rain and snow beat upon the body, and frost and snow pierce the skin. By various sufferings the body is thus continually being attacked. In general it may be said that this body of the Five Skandhas, in all its postures of dignity, whether standing or sitting, awake or asleep, is altogether an existence of suffering. It goes on forever and never finds rest. This we call external suffering. In addition to this, various states of suffering may be seen which need not be explained here.

In the third place there is the State of Impermanence. In the Nehan-kyo 涅槃經 we read as follows: "The life of man does not stop even for a moment. It flows on more swiftly than a mountain stream. Though we may remain for today, tomorrow is uncertain. In the Shutsuyokyo 出曜經 we read: "If today is already past, life gradually declining is sadder than that of a fish living in the water left in the footprint of a horse. What, then, is the pleasure of life?" The Mayakyo 摩耶經 says on this point: "Human life is like an ox being pulled by a butcher to the slaughtering pen; every step brings him that much nearer to his doom. So it is with a man's life."

We may take, for example, the life of a man who, let us say, has accumulated good Karma throughout a long life, a man cared for by many children and grandchildren who one day enjoy the flower festival and on another day gather to view the moon. They dearly love him with deep filial piety so that others envy him and say: "What a happy man he must be!" But even though he may be happy in this way, still in accordance with the law of the impermanence of things this happiness can not last. If one or two of his children die he is saddened because they precede him in death and his long life becomes a burden to him. Henceforth he sheds the tears of old age. His body gradually declines in strength and at last becomes a vehicle of Impermanency, and he is made a lonely man. He continues to feel sad. Wealth may fill his coffers and he may have a magnificent house with a roof facing east and west and with a far view toward the north and south. The pleasant song of a beautiful woman and the sunshine of spring may charm him. He may be entertained by the dancing of beautiful women whose long sleeves are spread out by the breezes, or he may be fascinated with the autumn scenery; yet all these

things pass away with time, the man changes and all becomes but as a dream of yesterday.

In a poem of the Daikyo 大經 we read: "All beings born into this world must die, and though life may be almost endless, still at last it must come to an end. Those who flourish now must decline; those who meet must part again. Youth does not last long; rosy cheeks fade in sickness and life is swallowed up by death. No phenomenon is permanent." Again we read in the Zaigyohokyo 罪業應報經: "The water always comes short of the shore; the fire, however lively it may burn, does not continue thus very long; the sun rises but soon sets again, and the moon waxes only to wane again. And though a man may occupy a high rank and be honored, still impermanency quickly becomes his rival and overtakes him. Since, then, all things are the same, let man worship with a faithful heart the infinitely Venerable. (This is the heart of the above mentioned Scripture).

Those, then, who should fear Impermanency are not only the masses but all, and let even the hermit fear he who rides on the wind, sits on the clouds and flies about freely enjoying himself. [In his hermit environment he is surrounded with flowers during the four seasons. On all sides are mountains full of fragrance and thus he spends his life. But let him fear, for this earth must all pass away so that heaven and earth cannot be distinguished from each other and both become one sea of mud. Even the hermit who may witness seven times the birth of a new world can not ultimately but submit to the Law of Impermanency.](¹) Even the one who may soar up into the sky, submerge himself in the sea or hide himself in the rocks, must face death. [If while living in this hermit sphere we do not desire the way of the Hotoke we must return again through the dark passage into Six Realms.](¹) Now if this is so then these things are not really to be desired. Let us, then, venerate what is truly venerable, and following the teachings of the Buddha and being diligent in doing work according to the teachings, let us seek the reward of eternal pleasure. It is said in the Shikwan 止觀 that the murderous ghost of Impermanency does not respect even venerable and wise men though they may be strong, for the body of all is full of risks and unstable like the dew on the morning glory or the foam on the water which can not be relied upon. Why, then, should we foolishly and complacently think that we can live quietly a hundred years running hither and yon to gather wealth which, after all, does not satisfy the heart? When we die suddenly

(1) The sections in brackets are not in the Chinese editions.

this accumulated wealth must be left behind, for not one mite follows the body which must go through this dark passage. And when we go on this journey into the dark intermediate states no one remembers our good and evil deeds. Not long after a man dies his land and wealth are divided among his unfilial heirs unevenly and they quarrel among themselves, saying: "Others have much while I have little and this is unfair." Sad to say, their inheritance becomes merely a source of quarrels and envy. The coming of Impermanency is swifter than a swift river, a raging storm or a flash of lightning. There is no place to which one can escape whether in the sea, the mountains, the sky or the city. When we know this we have great fear of heart. We are unable to sleep in peace or enjoy our food, but we seek our deliverance as if we were saving our head from fire. It is like the parable of the wild fox who pretended to be dead when caught by the hunters. He heard one say: "I want his ears." Another said: "Give me his tail!" and a third demanded his teeth. He thought he would escape with his life even though he lost these, but when he heard one say: "Cut off his head for me!" he became greatly terrified. Thus it is with man. Though he meets with the sufferings of birth, old age and sickness he still feels safe, but death he can not face so lightly. Why, then, are we not more afraid? If we had a heart that fears we would act like those who test the hot bath or like those who tread on fire. We would not lustfully stain ourselves in the Five Senses and the Six Passions. (This is the heart of the teaching.) Since this, then, is the nature of human existence we ought truly to dislike it and flee from it.

VI

Realm of Heavenly Beings

In the Realm of Heavenly Beings there are three divisions, namely, the World of Desires, the World of Form and the World of Formlessness. This is a broad subject and difficult to explain in detail. We shall explain 'Toriten and illustrate other points.

First, as to the condition of these heavenly beings it may be said that all things are according to their hearts' desire. Nevertheless, even though the pleasures of these beings are boundless, when life comes to an end they can not escape the pain of the Five Decays. The first is the fading of the crown of flowers. Second, the heavenly weather clothing becomes soiled. Third, sweat flows from the body. Fourth, the eyes often grow dizzy. And fifth, the place of living no longer gives enjoyment. These are called the Five Decays.

When we meet with these sufferings we are disliked and cast off by the family of heavenly maidens. It is pitiful to roll around among the bushes and trees weeping and grieving. At such a time the victim cries out, saying: "I was loved constantly by all the heavenly maidens and why is it that now they love me no longer? They have flung me away like grass and do not care for me in the least. Now there is nothing on which I can rely. Who is there to save me? Leaving the palace castle of Zenken, my life here must come to an end. There is no hope of seeing Teishaku on his treasure throne. It is difficult to behold the glory of Shushoden and doubtful whether I can ever again ride on the treasure elephant of Shakuten. I shall never again gaze on the flowers of Shushaen. Never again shall I sit at the sake feast of Zorinen, nor play and linger in Kwankien. Sitting on the smooth stone of the white jewel under the Goba tree is a pleasure no longer possible. I can think no longer about bathing in the waters of Shushochi. I shall never again eat the Four Sweets and I alone am denied hearing the Five Glorious Kinds of Music. How sad that I alone must meet this fate! Oh, have mercy on me and save my life! But for a moment longer, I pray grant me this pleasure and let me not fall down on Mount Mezu or into Bassho sea! But though I utter these prayers for help there is no one to save."⁽¹⁾ (The heart of the Roku Haramitsukyo 六波羅密經).

Let every one know that the sufferings at such a time are more severe than the sufferings in hell. In the Shohonenkyo 正法念經 we also read that when one is about to depart from the heavenly realm great suffering is borne. If one compare this suffering with the many tortures of hell it seems sixteen times greater than these. Again, if an angel of great virtue be born the family of heavenly maidens forsake their former love and follow this angel of virtue. If there is one who should not follow this angel of dignity they hunt him out in the palace and finally eject him. [Yugaron 瑜伽論].⁽²⁾

In the other five Heavens of Desire there are also places of suffering, and though there is nothing like that in the two heavens of the upper world still when one must leave these heavens there is suffering. Even in Hisoten 悲相天⁽³⁾ one cannot escape the reward of evil Karma. If this is so then are even the pleasures of the Heavenly Realm worthless. Is not,

(1) The places mentioned in this paragraph are regions in Toriten which is the second of the Six Devalokas. Teishaku is the King of Toriten. Shakuten is the same as Teishaku.

(2) This scripture is not mentioned in the popular edition.

(3) Hisoten is the highest heaven of the Realm of Heavenly Beings. It is an abbreviation for Hisohihisoshoten (非相非非相所天). "No-Thought-no-Non-Thought-Place-Heaven."

then, every one of the Six Ways a way of folly? The only desirable thing must be, then, the Imperishable High Land of the Western Region.

VII

General Summary of the Disgusting Conditions in the Six Ways

In taking a general view of these disgusting conditions it may all be regarded as a box of suffering. Let us therefore be careful not to be ruined by pleasure, for mountains from all four sides close in on us and there is no escape. But the spirit of covetousness and even of love enmesh the heart and it is captivated by the Five Lusts and it continually dotes on inconstant things regarding that as pleasure which is not real pleasure. It is like one who obtains a momentary relief by bathing a boil or removing a wild eyelash. Since, then, calamities⁽¹⁾ must come soon how can a wise man love his body or regard it as a treasure? We read therefore in the Shohonenkyo (正法念經): "The wise man always is anxious and is like a man in prison. The foolish man is always enjoying himself and saying that life is like in Koonten (光音天.) [Truly this world is a prison-house and Paradise is our true country. We should therefore make haste to dislike and escape from this prison-house and return to our true country of Paradise.]"⁽²⁾

In a poem of the Hoshakukyo (寶積經) we read: "Though we may enjoy our life of doing various evil deeds, accumulating property, rearing and educating a family, still when life comes to an end and this body is afflicted with pain, then wife and children can not help us. How much less, then, when we fall into the horrors of "the Three Ways" can we see wife, children and friends! Our vehicles and wealth soon become other men's property. When once we have died father and mother, brothers and sisters, wife and children, friends, servants and property—not one of these comes near to befriend us. Only our evil Karma constantly pursues us and only Emma-O says to the victim: "I do not ascribe one extra sin to you. You have come here in consequence of the sins you yourself have committed. Deeds and their rewards follow each other and there is nothing to take the place of your sins. Your father and mother, wife and children can not save you. Only you yourself can work out the cause of your deliverance. Therefore cast away the evil works which fetter your hands and neck. Leave behind the evil way and seek peace."

(1) Literally calamities through Sword, Mountain, Fire and Water.

(2) Not in Chinese editions.

In a poem of the Daishukyo (大集經) we read: "Wife and children, treasures and even kingly rank do not accompany us when we leave this life. Only the commandments, the alms and uprightness go with us in this world and into the world to come." Thus the doing of evil causes in turn the receiving of suffering and life becomes vanity. Death itself is vain, for there is no end to the cycle of rebirth and death. In the poem of a certain scripture we read: "If one should take the bones of a single man during the period of one Kalpa and pile these up, and assuming that these did not rot or decay, they would make a pile as big as Mount Vaipula." If this is true for one Kalpa what are we to say about a period of innumerable Kalpas? It is because we do not walk in the Way that we have to pass through these endless Kalpas in vain. If in this world we do not try to discipline ourselves neither will we be any better in a future world. It is difficult to be born as a human being in the endless cycle of birth and death. Even though we do obtain birth as a human being it is difficult to obtain the various faculties. And even though we may have the various faculties the chances are few that one will have an opportunity to get acquainted with Buddhism. And even though one gets acquainted with Buddhism it is difficult to obtain a heart of faith. Therefore it is said in the Daikyō (大經): "The chances of being born as a human being as over against birth in one of the Three Lower Realms is like comparing the dirt under the finger nails with the earth that extends into the ten directions." And in the Hokkekyō (法華經) we read: "During the endless and numberless Kalpas it is difficult to have an opportunity to hear this Law. And even though this Law is heard it is difficult to become a human being. But by chance we have now obtained the body of a human and become acquainted with Buddhism, both of which are not easy to obtain. Now, therefore, in this our present life is our one chance to depart from this sea of suffering and to obtain birth in Paradise. And yet, even though our hair is growing white we stain our heart with vulgar things, and though our life is drawing to an end our desires remain with us. At last when we leave this bright sunlight and go alone to the bottom of the "Yellow Spring," falling into the midst of a raging flame which consumes even copper and which is hundreds of yodjanas in extent, even though we cry then to heaven and beat the earth, all will be in vain. Let all disciples, therefore, speedily arouse in themselves a heart which desires to depart and quickly follow in the way of deliverance. When we come to the Mountain of Treasure, let us not go away from it empty handed." Some one may ask saying: "In what way shall I arouse a heart that seeks deliverance?" The answer is that if we have a really broad view of things

we must understand the various foregoing explanation about the law of Cause and Effect and the sufferings arising from impurity in the Six Ways.

It is also said in a poem of a sermon by the Bodhisattva Nagarjuna addressed to King Zandaka : " As for this body, impurity flows incessantly from its nine openings like the water in the rivers and oceans. A thin skin covers it and makes it appear as pure, and it is decorated with brocade and embroidery, but every wise man, knowing that all this is a deception, flings away all lust. It is like a person with a scab on his body who approaches the fire and at first feels comfortable but afterward finds that it only increases his pain. Thus it is with all forms of passion ; at the beginning they give pleasure but at the end they cause great suffering." To know that the real state of the body is impurity is to understand that it is vanity and that the self is not real. He who disciplines himself with this thought obtains his reward. He who is superior in form and who has great knowledge but does not practise the commandments and does not have real wisdom is still a beast. But one may be ugly in outward appearance and know little and yet if he is disciplined in the commandments and has the true wisdom he is called Superior. There are none who can escape from the Eight Laws.⁽¹⁾ If one can avoid covetousness he is truly a superior person and without an equal. If there are Saramanas and Brahmanas let father and mother, wife and children and the family follow their will, receive their words and cease doing evil and impious things. For if one has committed a sin even though it was to help one's family, such a one must nevertheless receive great suffering in the future. He who has committed various evil deeds may for a time go unpunished. Sword and fire may do him no harm now, yet in the next life the sinful state will be made manifest and he will fall into hell to receive the various punishments. A believing heart, keeping the commandments, giving alms, hearing many things, wisdom, a feeling of shame and uprightness—these seven laws are called the Holy Treasure ; these are truly treasures with which nothing is to be compared. They are the golden words of the Nyorai and they surpass all the rarest treasures of the world. If one knows how to be content he is truly rich even though he may be poor. And one who has many desires is truly poor even though he may possess great wealth. Where there is great wealth there is also much suffering. It is like the dragon with many heads—the more heads the more poison. Let us realize that delicious things are really like

(1) The Eight Laws, also called Eight Winds because they stir up the human heart, are . Gain and Loss, Slander and Praise, Honor and Dishonor, Pain and Pleasure.

poison and, therefore, let us purify ourselves with the waters of wisdom. Though we must eat in order to sustain this body, still let us not covet rich foods to satisfy our palates and stomachs and so do injury to the heart. Let us not seek satisfaction in the little things of life and thereby lose the big things. [Also Mencius said: "Even coarse clothing covers the body and keeps out the cold." Why, then, should we covet showy garments and be proud? In general it may be said that one who has a true regard for the virtue of the heart is indifferent to external appearance. He does not envy people who wear brocades and is not ashamed of his own simple clothes. Therefore it is said in the *analects* of Confucius. "He who is seeking the Way but is still ashamed of wearing poor clothes and eating simple food is not worthy to talk with." The lord of the famous Kan-yo castle which was over three hundred ri in extent and so large that it shut out even the sun, found no place of rest except the small spot on which he sat. Even the crude hut made of branches, if we do not take note of its appearance, is just as truly a training hall as any place in the universe and therefore the heart can feel enlarged and the body at leisure. There are endless kinds of palaces and straw huts, and even to sing the lines: "Hard is the lot of the old mountain woman gathering brushwood on the mountain side," shows that one has not awakened from the dream of the endless cycle of life and death].⁽¹⁾ Let us arouse a heart which dreads being stained in the various passions and let us be diligent and seek the way to the highest Nirvana. First let us harmonize this body and be at peace, and after this let us purify ourselves. There are five periods in the night; two of these being for sleep and rest. The three other periods, namely, the beginning, middle and end of the night, are for meditation on life and death and for seeking understanding. Do not pass the time in vain.

It is, for example, like putting a pinch of salt into the river Ganges which, of course, would not make the river salt water. So it is when a little evil is mixed with the various good deeds; it is dissipated and disappears. Even though we may receive the pleasures of separation from our passions in Bonten (梵天)⁽²⁾ we shall nevertheless fall again into the sufferings of the immeasurable flames; and though we may be in the heavenly palace and our bodies radiate brilliant light we shall afterward enter again into the black dark hell. In the so-called Black-Rope-Hell and in the Hell-of-Repetition burning and cutting, piercing and skinning go on

(1) The section enclosed in brackets is not in the older Chinese edition.

(2) Bonten is one of the heavens of Brahma.

without intermission. The eight hells burn fiercely and continuously, and this is the punishment for the evil deeds of all living beings. It is impossible to paint, put into words, read or think about the condition of such sufferings. What, then, must be the tortures of these victims ! If we compare the suffering of even a single thought about Abi Hell with that of a man cutting his body with three hundred swords the latter will not be one billionth as severe. The suffering in the Realm of Beasts is immeasurable. They are bound with ropes and beaten with whips. Some of them are injured for the sake of the bright pearls, feathers, horns, tusks, bones, hair, skin and flesh which they yield.

The suffering in the Realm of Hungry Spirits is also like this. Though the beings here seek various sorts of satisfactions they can not be satisfied in heart. Enduring hunger, tortured by heat and cold, tired and exhausted, their sufferings are boundless. Even the various impurities of urine and dung they can not obtain as food for a billion Kalpas. And if by chance they should obtain a little of this sort of food, when they take it out to eat it some other hungry spirit snatches it away and runs off with it. They lament over the agony of the hot flames even in the pure cool of the autumn moon, and they suffer from the cold even in the warm days of spring. When they happen to come to an orchard the various fruits suddenly disappear, and when they approach a pure stream of water this quickly dries up. As a result of their evil Karma their life drags on and for fifteen thousand years they suffer various tortures and continually receive poison without intermission. In this Realm of Hungry Spirits the swift river of passion carries the beings along according to the law of Cause and Effect. The fire of an evil mind and anger rages furiously and consumes both body and mind. If any one would extinguish such various evil works let him walk in the way of real deliverance. Forsaking the law of worldly fame, let him obtain the place of purity and permanence. [Hyakujūgyōge 百十行偈]⁽¹⁾ If there is any mind for disliking and departing (from this evil world) it is like Bodhisattva Asvagōsha's resuscitation when he heard the singers' song which runs as follows : " The various phenomena of existence are like a vision and like an illusion. In all relations of the Three Worlds there is not one that can be relied on. Kingly rank, high fame and the wielding of power—none of these can remain when Impermanency comes over them. A floating cloud seems to be there but suddenly it disappears and becomes nothing. This body is an empty illusion and like a plantain. It is an enemy and a thief and can

(1) This poem is not mentioned in the popular edition.

not be trusted. It is like a box full of vipers. No human being can be loved with pleasure. For this reason all the Buddhas continually mortify the body."

In the above passage we have in detail the teachings about Impermanency, Suffering, the Void and the Non-Atman. Those who hear this doctrine understand the Way. Again we read in the poem of Hekijō (壁_上) by the monk Kenno: "The reason the cycle of birth and death does not come to an end is because the various passions of covetousness are deep and because of indulgence in lust and the taking of pleasure in taste. Feeding our own enemy we go to the grave. In vain we endure the various pains. The body is rotten like a corpse. From the nine orifices flow impurities. Like the worms in the gutter enjoying the dung so man foolishly loves his body and covets it. To delight in form and indulge in wanton expedients is to give foundation to the Five Lusts.⁽¹⁾ The wise man does not indulge in wanton expedients and therefore the Five Lusts are annihilated for him. Covetousness is born of evil ideas and passion is born of covetousness. If we think correctly and do not countenance covetousness then all other passions will disappear."

In ancient times, after the death of the Buddha Mijukenda and when the True Law had declined, the Bodhisattva Damashiri with this poem spread the teachings of Buddhism and thus benefited numberless living beings.

If any one desires Paradise it is as described in the Kongokyo (金剛經) where we read: "The law of all existence is like a dream, like foam, like a shadow, like the morning dew, like lightning. May we realize this." Again we read in the Daikyō (大經): "All work is impermanent. This is the law of life and annihilation. To end the annihilation of life and annihilation, such calm annihilation is true happiness."

At the four corners of the Myodo of Gionji bells are hanging. In the sound of the bells the meaning of this poem is explained. When a sick monk hears this sound and receives the pleasure of purity it is like entering into the third Meditation Region and like being born into Paradise. How much more, then, do the great knights of Setsusen who throw away their whole bodies understand this poem! Let the disciple be not careless in trying to understand the heart of this poem. Observing the doctrine according to its true explanation, let him abstain from the errors of covetousness, anger, ignorance and so forth. Let him be like a lion chasing a man. Let him avoid the painful work of unprofitable heresy and let him not be like a fool who chases after a lump of dirt. Some one

(1) Five Lusts are the lusts of five senses.

may ask and say: "It is easy to understand the teachings about Impurity, Suffering and Impermanency and that every phenomenon which appears to us has a noumenon back of it, but what is meant by the Void?" We reply: "Is it not explained in the sutra where we read: 'It is like a dream and a vision. Therefore let us understand the meaning of the Void by thinking of it in terms of a dream.' " It is as recorded in the Seiseiki 西城記 where we read: "In the land of Harateishi, two or three ri eastward from the Seroku grove there is a dried-up pond. In ancient times on the edge of this pond a hermit built a grass hut and hid himself in it. This hermit learned various arts and was powerful with magic so that he could change bricks and pebbles into jewels. He could change men into animals and animals into men. But he was not yet able to ride on the wind and the clouds and be of service to real hermits. Opening a map he thought over ancient matters and sought for witchcraft. In this secret document it is said: "Command a knight to put away his long sword in the corner, not to breathe deeply and to keep silent from evening till morning. Also he who would learn magic let him sit in the center of the platform, hold a long sword in his hand and with his eyes closed and ears stopped let him recite with his mouth the incantation. When morning comes he will be able to perform magic."

The hermit following out this instruction sought out a knight. He treated him very courteously and was very kind to him. Then he said to the knight: "Please keep silent for one night." The knight replied: "If you should command it I would not refuse even to die for you. How much more then shall I be glad to breathe silently at your request." Thereupon the hermit erected a platform and carried out the instructions as he had read. He sat down and waited for the sun to set. After it became dark each one went on with his duties. The hermit recited his incantations while the knight was holding his ordinary sword but just before it became dawn the knight suddenly cried out with a loud voice. The hermit turning on the knight asked him rather indignantly: "Why did you fail to do your part? Why did you cry out?" To this the knight replied as follows: "After I had received your orders and when it became midnight my mind became somewhat faint and confused as if I were dreaming. My feelings changed and everything seemed strange. When I got up and looked around it seemed as if my former master himself had come and was comforting me. On account of your great kindness to me I did not break my silence and so my master became very angry and killed me and I entered the state between this life and rebirth in the next. Since I had not finished my work I was not sorry that I

had entered this state. But still I was determined to reward your great kindness by keeping silent even though I had to pass through many rebirths to enter this world again. I was finally born into the family of a great Brahman in Southern India. I obtained a body and came forth from the womb. Though I endured various sufferings I did not forget your great kindness to me and so I did not utter a word. I succeeded to the headship of a family. I became an adult and was married. After a while I buried my parents and mourned for them. I had children of my own. But during all that time I did not break my silence. My chief relatives and also my maternal relatives, all of them, marvelled at me for this. When I became sixty years old my wife said to me one day: 'You must speak. If you do not say something I will stab your child to death. With this she took the baby in her arms, seized a dagger and was about to stab the child. I thought in my heart that already my life had undergone changes and that once before I had left this world. I am now again an old man and this is my only child. With these thoughts in my heart I could not endure seeing her kill the child and so I stopped her by crying out: 'Don't kill it! Don't kill it!''"

When the hermit heard this he was sorry for what he had done and that he had caused the knight to be bewitched by an evil spirit. He felt keenly the knight's kindness toward him, but being disappointed over not obtaining his real purpose he grew so angry that he died (Summary).

Now the sphere of dreams is like this story and all existence is like a dream. When a man has not awakened from the dream of vain thoughts he looks upon things in the Void as though they were real. Therefore it is stated in the Yuishikiron 唯識論: "Unless one comprehends the truth he is continually in a dream. Therefore Buddha explains life and death as a long night." One may say: "If one has an understanding of the doctrine of Impermanency, Suffering, the Void and so forth, is not this the same as the doctrine of Self-Harmonization and Self-Control for which Hinayana stands?" We reply that latter view is not limited to the Hinayana and is found also in Mahayana. The Hokkekyo 法華經 e. g., says: "Make great mercy your room. Make meekness and perseverance your clothes, and make the voidness of all phenomena your seat. In this way the Law is explained."

The conception of the Void in all the sutras does not contradict the heart of great mercy. How much more, then, do the ideas of Suffering, Impermanency and so forth stir up the Bodhisattva to vows of mercy. Therefore in the Pragnaparamita 大般若 class of sutras the idea of Impurity and so forth are also the Law of the Bodhisattva. If you wish

to understand this you must read these sutras. One may ask: "What profit is there in this sort of view?" We reply: "If one constantly harmonizes and settles his heart in this way, then the Five Passions become weaker and at death the mind is right and without error, and so one does not fall into the evil place. It is as written in a poem of the Kwanjinken 觀進繫念 of the Daishogonron 大莊嚴論: "When one is in the prime of life and without any worry he becomes idle and does not make progress. He becomes covetous for the various things of this world. He gives no alms, does not keep the commandments nor practice meditation, and so when he faces death and for the first time becomes awakened and wishes to do good he finds that it is too late." The wise man should constantly practise meditation and cut out all thought of the Five Passions. Those who are diligent and careful in training their mind have no regrets when they reach the end of life. Their heart has already reached a harmony and is without confusion. But if one does not train his heart and concentrate it then at death there is necessarily a confusion of heart."

The following is written in the fifty-seventh poem of the Hoshakukyo 寶積經: "As we examine our own bodies we find muscles and veins intertwined, moist and soft skin as a covering, and the nine orifices from which vile things are constantly flowing out. The human body is like a house enclosed in a bamboo fence. As within the house we find various kinds of grains stored so in the body we find all sorts of vile things such as dung and urine. The joints of the bones do not work together smoothly because they are frail. In spite of this the foolish fondle their bodies but the wise do not.

We find such vile things in the body as tears, saliva and sweat which are constantly flowing out of it, pus and blood which fill it, brains made of a mixture of yellow fat and milk in the skull, and phlegm which is spat out from the chest. Besides these there are the viscera of life-heat, fat, membranes and the stomach which is one of the five viscera in the belly. All these are polluted by the various kinds of unclean things.

How sinful is the human body! You should have great fear of it because it is like a house of resentment. But the ignorant and greedy are so foolish that they take great care of their bodies.

The human body which is composed of many vile things is like a half-ruined old castle. Day and night the streams of worldly passions beat against it. The body is like a castle the bones being like the castle walls and the blood and flesh like the paint on the walls. Whoever is greedy, quick tempered or foolish is deceived by the body. You should hate this

castle of bones and flesh. Blood and flesh which are closely connected always produce evil thoughts and then man suffers pain both outwardly and inwardly. Nanda, you should seek understanding. Remember day and night what I have been preaching to you and do not long for the realm of evil desires. If you wish to escape from this world, keep your mind fixed in true understanding; and when you have obtained enlightenment you will pass over the sea of life and death." (Other descriptions which are not mentioned here may be found in the Dairon 大論 Shikwan 止觀 etc.)

The sections enclosed in brackets are not found in the popular editions but are taken from the edition in Chinese of 1697.

GOKURAKU PARADISE

CHAPTER I

Pleasures of Being Welcomed by Many Saints

The pleasures of the time when one is welcomed by many saints are as follows: When the life of men of evil deeds comes to an end, the two elements of wind and fire depart first. As these two elements are by their nature the things that control all movements they stir things up and so cause great pain to the victim. On the other hand, when good men die the two elements of earth and water depart first. These two elements are by their nature quiet and so give ease to the body and therefore there is no pain (at death). How much more, then, does he who for many years has controlled his mind and piled up the merits of Nembutsu,⁽¹⁾ find great joy in his heart when he comes to die! The great vow of Mida Nyorai 彌陀如來⁽²⁾ is such that he comes with twenty-five Bodhisattvas and the host of hundred thousand monks. In the western skies purple clouds will be floating, flowers will rain down and strange perfumes will fill the air in all directions. The sound of music is continually heard and golden rays of light stream forth. In brilliant rays which dazzle the eyes, he (Amida) will appear.

At the time of death, the merciful Kwannon 觀音,⁽³⁾ with extended hands of a hundred blessings and sublimity and holding out a lotus seat of

(1) Nembutsu 念佛 is the prayer *Namu Amida Butsu* 南無阿彌陀佛 which is used most frequently by the worshippers of Amida. The meaning is probably, "Hail, Thou Buddha of Eternal Life (or Light)."
 (2) Mida Nyorai is an abbreviation for Amida Nyorai, i.e., the Tathagata Amitabha.

(3) Kwannon 觀音, the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara.

treasures, will appear before the believer.⁽¹⁾ The Bodhisattva Daiseishi 大勢至⁽²⁾ and a numberless host say in one voice: "Blessed art thou! Blessed art thou! Thou hast with a faithful heart and much thought reformed the evil and practised the good. Mercy and honesty have been thy constant concern. Thou hast made the wise to be wise and hast not turned to passions nor hast thou doubted in calling on the Name and reciting the Nembutsu. Thou hast graven faith upon thine heart and thou hast submitted thyself to the Great Vow. Therefore thou art now welcome." Uttering these words, he places his hand upon the believer's head and with the other hand he draws him to himself. At this time the believer beholds the Nyorai (Amida) with his own eyes and his heart is filled with great joy. His body and mind are at ease now and he is happy as in a state of ecstasy.

Let us realize, therefore, that when one comes to the hour of death, even though it be in a grass hut, at that very moment one can take his place upon the lotus seat. One can follow after Mida Nyorai and in company with a host of Bodhisattvas be born in a moment into the realm of the Pure Land which lies in the West ten thousand hundred millions lands away. [This is the substance of the Kwangyo 觀經, Byodo 平等, Kaku-kyo 覺經 and the Biography].⁽³⁾

Even the pleasures of the hundred million thousand years of life in Toriten⁽⁴⁾ or the pleasures of the deep ecstasies of Mahabrahman's palace are not to be regarded as pleasures in comparison (with these pleasures of Paradise). When the karma of reward is exhausted the one (living in Toriten or Mahabrahman's palace) falls at last again into the cycle of change and he cannot escape from the Three Evil Realms,⁽⁵⁾ but this one (who has been born into Paradise) is now resting thankfully in the arms of Kwannon and he is dwelling securely on the Treasure Lotus Seat. Having passed a long period of time in crossing the Sea of Suffering, he has now for the first time been born into the Pure Land, and his happiness is thus beyond the power of words to describe.

In a poem by Nagarjuna we read: "If at the end of life one obtains birth into this country then one has boundless virtues. I, therefore, do nothing but offer my life to Mida and desire to enter the Pure Land."

(1) "Believer"—the Japanese word really means "doer" 行者, i.e. a doer of deeds, primarily deeds of religious severities, which will create good karma.

(2) Daiseishi 大勢至, the Bodhisattva Mahasthama. Daiseishi and Kwannon are usually associated with Amida, and these three form one of the chief trinities of Mahayana Buddhism.

(3) The Biography probably means the Buddha Karita of Asvagosha.

(4) Toriten 忉利天, the second of the Six Devalokas.

(5) Three Evil Realms 三惡道 are Hell, Realm of Hungry Spirits and Realm of Beasts

CHAPTER II

Pleasures of the First Opening of the Lotus

What is called the pleasures of the First Opening of the Lotus is this: When a believer is born into the realm of Paradise we speak of it as the time of the First Opening of his Lotus. All his pleasures are increased a hundred thousand times above what they were before. Such a one is like a blind man who has for the first time received his sight, or like a man from the country who has suddenly been transported to a palace. As he looks at his own body his skin becomes radiant with golden rays. His clothes are made of natural treasures. Gold rings, hair ornaments of beautiful feathers, a crown of gems, a necklace of most wonderful jewels and such ornaments beyond description in their beauty, cover his body. As he beholds the radiance of the Buddha, his eyes become purified and he is able to see the multitudes that assemble in the next world and to hear the voice of the various Laws. Everything of form and sound is mysterious and marvelous to him. When he looks up into the spacious sky he beholds a wide radiance of sublimity so glorious that heart and words can not express it, and his eyes lose themselves in the path of clouds. The mysterious voice of the honorable Law is heard and it fills this Land of Treasures. Golden palaces, bejeweled halls, green groves, ponds of treasures and all such things shine round about him with great brilliancy. Wild geese, wild ducks and mandarin ducks fly about in great flocks. Living beings from all parts of the universe are born into this place like showers of rain. Saints like the grains of sand on the Ganges for their number come from the innumerable Buddha lands. Some ascend into the palaces and live in the sky. Some, sitting in a place in the sky, read and explain the scriptures. Others, sitting in silence in the sky, are enjoying the ecstasy of meditation. Also on the ground among the trees of the forests such sights are common. Here and there are some wading and bathing in the streams while others are singing and scattering flowers. There are still others who are walking to and fro among the palaces and halls, worshipping and praising the Nyorai. In such ways the innumerable heavenly beings and saints enjoy themselves, each one according to his heart's desire. How impossible it is, then, to give all the names of the incarnate Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who fill Paradise like a cloud of fragrant flowers!

By and by as we look around we behold longingly and reverently Mida Nyorai in the distance seated on a Lotus Flower of Treasure like the King of the Golden Mountain. He is in the center of a pond of

Treasures. Kwannon and Seishi are solemnly in attendance sitting on Lotus Flowers of Treasures, the one on his right and the other on his left. Innumerable beings are reverently gathered around him.

Then again in this Land of Treasures there are precious trees which grow in rows. At the foot of each tree are one Buddha and two Bodhisattvas who radiate light and whose garments send forth a radiance which widely illuminates gloriously a pond of emeralds just as if suddenly thousands and tens of thousands of innumerable lights were piercing the night of darkness. At this time Kwannon and Seishi appear before the believers, and speaking to them with voices of great mercy they comfort them in various ways. Thereupon the believers come down from their Lotus Seats, prostrate themselves upon the ground and with bowed heads they worship. Then being conducted by these two Bodhisattvas, they are at last brought before Mida Nyorai. They kneel upon the steps of the Seven Precious Things⁽¹⁾ and worship the Venerable Form of Ten Thousand Virtues (Amida). Hearing the way of soul sincerity they enter the sea of the desire of universal wisdom. Tears of joy stream down like rain and a heart of deep desire penetrates to the very marrow. For the first time they enter into the fruit of Buddhahood and obtain what they have never experienced before. The believers, while they were still in this evil world, could only read or hear about these things, but now they can see them for themselves. How great, then, must be their joy! [This is in general the substance of the Kwangyo 觀經.]

In a poem by Nagarjuna we read: "If one has planted the good root but doubts, his lotus will not open. The one whose faith is pure will have his lotus open; that is, he will see Buddha."

CHAPTER III

Pleasures of Communicating Mysteriously Body and Form

The pleasures of Communicating Mysteriously Body and Form are as follows: The beings in Paradise, having bodies of golden color and being pure inwardly and outwardly, give forth a brilliant light and thus mutually glorify each other. They have thirty-two forms and they are so sublime, upright and marvelous that there is nothing with which to compare them in this world. As to the great multitude of Sravakas, the light of their body extends about six feet. The light of the Bodhisattvas radiates a hundred yodjanas. Some say it radiates a hundred thousand yodjanas. If we should compare the masters of the Six Devalokas with

(1) Seven Precious Things are Gold, Silver, Emerald, Coral, Agate Crystal and Pearl.

the beings of Paradise it would be like a beggar standing alongside of a king.

Then again the various beings of Paradise have all the five mysterious communications whose marvelous nature can not be comprehended. They live a life of freedom according to their heart's desire. If, for example, they wish to look across the universe without taking a step they can do so. If they wish to hear the voice of any one in the universe they can do so without moving from their seats. Not only this, but they can hear also the things of the infinite past as if they were happening today. They know the inmost thoughts of the beings of the Six Realms as if they were reflected in a mirror. They can go and come freely as if all the lands of the Hotoke⁽¹⁾ in all the ten directions lay beneath their feet. They can do anything they please in the realm of infinite space (lit. hundred, thousand, ten thousand hundred million Nayuta⁽²⁾ worlds) and in the realm of endless time (lit. hundred, thousand, ten thousand, hundred millions of Nayuta Kalpas.)

The forms of beings in this present evil world are thirty-two in number, and who is there that can obtain even one of these? But as for the Five Mysterious Communications, what kind of being is there that has attained even one! For beings in our world it is impossible to see without sun light or lamp-light; and, without moving, it is impossible to approach an object. We can not see through even one sheet of paper. We know nothing of the things in the past; we know merely the things of the present moment. We are still confined to the cage and obstructed in every direction. But as for the beings in Paradise there is not one which does not have this power (of mysteriously transcending space and time). Even though for a period of a hundred Great Kalpas they have not planted the seed (karma) of the Special Characteristic Forms and have not created the cause for the Mysterious Communications, during the Four Meditations, they still have this power as a natural consequence of having been born into Paradise.⁽³⁾ How happy, then, they must be! [This is the substance of the Kwangyo 觀經, Byodo 平等, Kakukyo 覺經].

In a poem by Nagarjuna we read: "The stature of the heavenly beings is as high as the top of Gold Mountain. Many beautiful scenes welcome

(1) Hotoke 佛 is a popular term for Buddha.

(2) Nayuta equals one quadrillion.

(3) The meaning of this passage is that the believer in Amida can enter Paradise directly from this present life and need not pass by gradual stages through the long existences in the Realm of Heavenly Beings, i. e. the Earthy Paradise which is better than human life but which is not the true Paradise of Buddhism.

their approach. Those who are born into this country can see with their heavenly eyes across the universe without restrictions. The saints bow to them in welcome. The beings in this country have miraculous powers and knowledge of their destiny. Therefore they depend upon Buddha for life and they worship him."⁽¹⁾

CHAPTER IV

Pleasures of the Five Wonderful Realms

The pleasures of the Five Wonderful Realms are as follows: By means of his forty-eight vows, Amida Buddha makes his Pure Land glorious. Everything becomes exceedingly beautiful and gloriously wonderful. Wherever you look there is pure and wonderful color. There is no voice which does not speak of deliverance. The realms of odor, taste and touch are equally glorious. In this so-called Paradise World the ground is of emeralds. Golden ropes that outline the paths give forth light. The roads are level and without any ups and downs; they are wide and without any bounds. All over the land one finds various wonderful garments. All the heavenly beings walk about in this land. (The above is the condition of the land).

In these various treasure lands there are found in each one 50,000,000,000 palaces and halls made of the seven Precious Things. Some are tall structures and some are low; some are spacious and some are small, for they are such as to delight the heart and please the mind. The various Treasure Beds are covered with wonderful clothing. Above are seven-fold balustrades covered with myriads (lit. 10,000,000,000) flower flags. Necklaces of jewels are hanging down and canopies of treasures are overhead. Within the palaces and over the halls are various heavenly beings who continually make music and praise the boundless virtues of the Nyorai. (The above is in reference to the palaces).

Inside and outside of the chapels, meditation chambers, palaces and halls, on the right and on the left, there are numerous bathing pools. On the bottom of the pools of gold there is silver sand, and on the bottom of the pools of silver is golden sand. On the bottom of the crystal pools is emerald sand, and on the bottom of the emerald pools is crystal sand. Coral and amber, mother of pearl and agate, white pearls and purple gold are arranged in like manner. These pools are filled with the waters of the Eight Virtues. The sands of treasure are transparent and illuminate even the deep. (The Eight Virtues are the following: 1. Transparent

(1) The poem of Nagarjuna quoted here is not in the popular Editions.

and pure; 2. Cool and cold; 3. Sweet; 4. Light and soft; 5. Moist; 6. Easy and gentle; 7. The power to slake thirst and to dispel all pain and worry; 8. The quality that nourishes with the Four Elements the hundred parts of the body, namely, eyes, nose, ears, vital organs etc. It bestows the various Good Roots).

The roads, steps, curved bridges and all things are built of the various treasures. Flowers of various treasures are growing all over the ponds. The green lotus flowers emit a green light; the yellow lotus, a yellow light; the red and white lotus flowers emit red and white light; each flower having its own peculiar light. As the breezes blow gently over these flowers they mingle with each other and this makes a wonderful color. Everything is filled with fragrance. In each flower is a Bodhisattva and every ray of light reveals numerous incarnate Buddhas. The waters flow in gentle ripples not too rapidly and not too slowly. Their sound is mysterious and there is nothing which does not speak of Buddhism. Sometimes there is proclaimed the doctrine of the non-reality of suffering, the non-reality of the self and the various Perfections.⁽¹⁾ And again there is sounded forth the law of No-difference No-obstacle⁽²⁾ in the Ten Regions. Some times there is heard the voice of Great Mercy and Great Compassion, and again the voice of Perseverance of Death and Birth. Whatever voice they hear, it pleases them greatly. By virtue of their purity, annihilation and sincerity⁽³⁾ they fulfill the way of the Bodhisattva and Sravaka.

Wild ducks, wild geese, mandarin ducks, snipes, white herons, cranes, swans, peacocks, parrots, karyobin and other birds with colors of treasures play in great flocks, night and day, chattering and singing the praises of Nembutsu, Nempo,⁽⁴⁾ and Nemso.⁽⁵⁾ They proclaim the Five Roots,⁽⁶⁾ the Five powers⁽⁷⁾ and the Seven Understandings.⁽⁸⁾ There is not even a mention of such things as the Three Realms⁽⁹⁾ and suffering. There is only the pleasant and natural voice.

(1) Kuku, muga, moromoro no haramitsu 苦空無我もうもろの波羅蜜

(2) Mui fugu no ho 無畏不具の法滅.

(3) Shogo jakumetsu shinjitsu no gi 清淨寂滅眞實の機.

(4) Nempo 念法, meditation on the Law.

(5) Nemso 念僧, meditation on monks and priests

(6) Five Roots 五根, the five sense organs.

(7) Five Powers 五力, Believing, Progressing, Meditation, Determining, Wisdom.

(8) Seven Understandings 七菩提, Selecting, Progressing, Being Pleased, Omitting, Rejecting, Determining, Believing.

(9) Three Realms 三途, the three lower realms, namely Hell, Realm of Hungry Spirits and Realm of Beasts.

When the Bodhisattvas and Sravakas wish to bathe, the pools of treasures give them pleasure and become deep or shallow as their hearts desire. The water cleanses all the filth from their hearts and they become pure and clear, transparent and calm. After bathing they go away, some up into the sky, others sit under the trees and explain the scriptures. Some read the scriptures while others listen to the reading. There are some who are sitting in silent meditation while others are strolling about according to their hearts' content. Among them are some who have not yet obtained the fruit of Rakan or Bodhisattva but who would obtain this state and get the secret of the Way. There is none who is not happy.

In one place there is a pure river with golden sand on its bottom. In places it is shallow, in others it is deep. It is cool in some spots and warm in others. It has all the virtues and so satisfies the hearts of all men. Various people walk about in this river or gather on its banks. (The above is a description of the waters).

There are trees of Melia Azedarach around the pools and on the banks of the streams. These trees stand in rows and their branches intermingle. Some trees have leaves of purple, gold and silver branches; some have leaves of coral and fruits of mother of pearl. Some are of one treasure, others are of seven treasures intermingled. The trees are decked with leaves, branches, flowers and fruits, and they shed a beautiful light. The breezes are so gentle that they do not break the branches as they blow through the forests of treasures. Fine nets are set in motion by the breezes and wonderful flowers drop whose fragrance is wafted away in whatever direction the breezes blow. The fragrance mingling with the water is carried away on the streams. And what shall we say of the wonderful sounds that are heard! Five kinds of sounds are making a wonderful harmony just as if a hundred thousand kinds of musical instruments were being played in unison. Whosoever hears this music naturally is led to meditate on Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood. Even the ten thousand kinds of music in the Six Devarokas are inferior to even one kind of music of these trees of treasures. Among the leaves of these trees grow flowers and in the flowers is the fruit. From all these things a brilliant light is emitted and this light makes a canopy of treasures. Each tree has such a canopy and under these canopies the things of the Buddhas reveal themselves clearly. If one wishes to see the Buddha lands clearly outlined in the Ten Directions one can see them reflected among these trees of treasures. Above the trees are sevenfold nets of treasures and between these nets are 50,000,000,000 palaces of wonderful flowers. In these palaces are numerous heavenly youths who are enjoying

themselves in various ways and from whose necklaces a bright light is emitted. There are various trees of Seven Treasures and various soft grasses that are famous in the world. Sweet and pleasing fragrance fills the air everywhere and every one feels happy. (The above is in regard to the forests).

Various fine nets of treasures are spread in the sky and on the nets are hanging bells of treasures. Heavenly flowers of various colors fall down in profusion. Garments of treasures with ornaments and furniture well decorated come revolving down from the sky like so many birds. These things are scattered in front of the Buddhas as offerings. Innumerable musical instruments are hung in the sky and they make music automatically, proclaiming the wonderful Law. (The above is in regard to the sky.)

The odor of various kinds of incense fills the world in all directions. Those who smell these odors have no thoughts about our dusty troubles and dirty customs. Everything on the ground and in the sky, the palaces and halls, the flowers and trees, all things are made of and mingled with the hundred thousand kinds of odors coming from the innumerable treasures. This fragrance extends widely into the Ten Directions.

All those who belong to the grade of Bodhisattva practice in the work of the Buddha. If any of these, whether they be Bodhisattvas of the Pure Land, Rakan or any of the various beings, desire to eat, tables made of the Seven Treasures appear of themselves. These are laden with delicious hundreds of kinds of food and drink served in vessels made of the Seven Treasures. The taste of this food is not that of this world, nor is it of the Realm of Heavenly Beings. The taste, the color and the fragrance are so unusual that they can not be compared with what we have in the Human and the Heavenly Realms. The sweet and the sour are as the heart desires. Those who see the color and smell the odor are made pure in heart. When they eat this good food their color and strength are increased. When they have finished eating the tables disappear of themselves and then at the proper time appear again.

If they desire any clothes these appear as they would have them. Like the praise of Buddha, if we fulfill the Law, we obtain a wonderful reward. There is no need of cutting, sewing, dyeing, mending or washing these garments. And again, since there is bright light everywhere, there is no need of the sun, moon or lamps. Cold and heat are harmonized and so there is no spring, summer, autumn or winter season. Virtuous winds of nature harmonize the cold and the heat. The climate gives a pleasant sensation to the body of the beings here just like the sensation which a

monk has when he is absorbed in silent meditation. Every morning the breezes scatter new flowers and the land of the Buddhas is filled with fragrant odors. The flowers are soft like cotton batting. When one walks on them the feet sink four inches but as soon as the foot is raised they spring up again as before. After the morning is past the flowers all sink into the earth and new flowers fall down in their place. The same phenomenon takes place at noon, in the evening and at midnight. The Five Mysterious Spheres do not make beings covetous though they make them enjoy whatever they see and hear because it is in the Pure Land. It only increases their immeasurable and excellent merit. The merits in this world of the Western Paradise rank first among the merits of the numberless pure Buddha lands in the Ten Directions, up and down. All the beautiful ornaments and wonderful things of the Pure Land of the 21,000,000,000 Buddhas are assembled in the Pure Land of the West. If one can obtain a vision of the state of this Paradise he will be able to eradicate all evil Karma piled up during immeasurable hundreds of millions of Kalpas, and at the end of his life he is certain to obtain birth into that land. (The above represents two kinds of Kwangyo—Amidakyo 阿彌陀經, Shosan-Jodokyo 稱讚淨土經, Hoshakyo 寶積經, Byodokyo 平等經, etc.)

In a poem by Bodhisattva Seishin we read: "When one tries to picture the state of that world, it transcends all the limits of the Three Worlds. It is as vast and limitless as the sky. In it there are thousands and ten thousand kinds of flowers of Treasures. These flowers grow all over the ponds of Treasures, pure streams and sweet springs. As the gentle breezes blow, the colors and fragrance of these flowers mingle. There are various palaces, towers, [precious roofs, golden doors, rounded pillars, all of which are made of the Seven Treasures. It is impossible to state in words the shapes and forms of these objects. As one sits in the towers of these halls]⁽¹⁾ it is possible to look with out any obstructions across the world of the Ten Directions. The various trees of Treasures are wonderful in color, and their light is green. Surrounding the trees are balustrades of Treasures. Fine nets filled with innumerable treasures are spread out in the sky, and gold and silver bells attached to these nets proclaim in wonderful sounds the glories of the Law. All the desires of these beings are satisfied in enjoyments. For these reasons I desire to be born in the land of Mida Buddha."

(1) The Section in brackets is not in the older Chinese edition.

CHAPTER V

The Pleasures of the Happiness which never Fails

The Pleasures of the Happiness which never Fails are as follows : In this evil world of ours there is no real pleasure in which one may indulge. Even the Seven Treasures of the state of the Holy King of the Turning Wheel⁽¹⁾ do not last long. Also the pleasures of the Heavenly Realm are haunted by the Five Decays.⁽²⁾ Even the beings in Uchoten⁽³⁾ cannot escape from the Wheel of Life. How much less then is this possible for beings in the lower worlds with their life of pain and pleasure which cannot satisfy the heart. The rich do not necessarily live long and those who live long are often not rich. Some are born in the morning and die in the evening. Therefore it is said in the scriptures : "The breath that goes out does not wait for the breath that comes in, nor does the breath that comes in wait for that which goes out. And not only does pleasure give way to sadness before our very eyes, life itself ends and after death, as a result of our sins, we fall into the Evil Way. But in this world of the Western Region there is pleasure without end. Human beings and heavenly beings mingle with each other and see each other. All have a mind of mercy and they mutually love each other with a love like that bestowed upon an only begotten son. All of them wander to and fro on the land of emeralds and play together in the groves of Melia Azedarach, or saunter from palace to palace, from pool to pool and from grove to grove. If they desire quietness then naturally the voice of the breeze, the sound of the waves and the music of instruments die away. If they wish to see any thing then even the strange and unusual places of mountain vastnesses and river valleys appear before their eyes. If they do not wish to see these things, then they can in a moment transport themselves away from these scenes. And the same thing is true in regard to things of smell, taste, touch and the proclaiming of the Law. Some times they pass over bridges of clouds, make music on instruments, dance, ascend into the sky and so reveal their power of mysterious communications. Some times they accompany the knights from other regions, go to bid them farewell,

(1) The Holy King of the Turning Wheel 轉輪聖王 is the king who reveals himself in this world when human life is 80,000 years in length. He is called by this name because when he takes a walk he is preceded by a wonderful wheel which makes smooth the path before him.

(2) There are several different lists of the Five Decays 五衰 but the more ordinary is as follows : (1) Clothes become old and shabby, (2) Hair grows gray and falls out, (3) The body throws out a stench as it grows old, (4) The stench from the sweat of the arm pits, (5) The lack of pleasure in the physical life.

(3) Uchoten 有頂天, one of the uppermost heavens in the Realm of Heavenly Beings, the "Earthly" Paradise.

or they wander about seeking pleasure in fellowship with holy, heavenly beings. Sometimes they go to the pools of Treasures, or visit and encourage those who have newly been born (into Paradise) saying : " Do you know where this place is ? It is called the Paradise World and the Lord of this world we call Mida Butsu. On him you must now rely.

Again they sit on lotus stands in the ponds of Treasures. As they have power to understand their own destinies, they talk to each other about their former lives, namely, as to what country they lived in, how their mind became enlightened by this and that scripture when they were seeking the way of the Buddha, how they kept this and that commandment, and learned such and such teachings and thus developed the Good Root, and how they gave such and such alms. In this way they talk with one another about the virtues which they enjoyed, or they tell in detail the story from beginning to end of how they came to be born into Paradise.

Sometimes they talk about the blessings and accommodations of the various Hotoke in the Ten Directions. Then again they express their opinions regarding the means of taking away the sufferings of the beings in the Three Evil Ways.

In this way they talk frankly about many things. After this, for diversion, they walk together or climb the Mount of Seven Treasures. (The Mount of Seven Treasures, the Tower of Seven Treasures, and the Chamber of Seven Treasures are all from the Jupposhugyo).

Then again they bathe in the pond of Eight Merits, or sit down [in a row] quietly and without speaking a word. [They sit in correct form on the floor as in the meditation of Zazen 坐禪, and without form or thought they enjoy the communion with the Mysterious and Immeasurable.](¹) or they will recite the entire canon in a moment and explain most perfectly the most profound passages. Thus their enjoyment continues without any interruption. Their place is a place of incorruption, and in this pure Land of Pleasure they abide forever and thus have for all time escaped from the terrors of the Three Realms(²) and the Eight Difficulties(³). Life here is boundless and their state is not subject to birth and death, nor do they endure the four sufferings of birth, old age, sickness and death which

(x) The section in brackets are not in the older Chinese edition.

(2) The Three Realms 三途, namely, Hell, Realm of Hungry Spirits and Realm of Beasts.

(3) The Eight Difficulties 八難 are: (1) Blindness and Deafness; (2) Worldly Wisdom (because tempted by it); (3) Being born before or after a Buddha appears in the world; (4) Happiness in Hokurashu (a pleasant land in China. One becomes so engrossed with the pleasures in this land that one fails to listen to the Buddha and so misses eternal life; (5) The Happiness of long life on earth (since this keeps one from Buddha's salvation); (6) Existence in Hell, (7) Existence in the Realm of Hungry Spirits; (8) Existence in the Realm of Beasts

characterize human life. For every desire there is something to satisfy it and there is nothing which does not satisfy the heart. And as there is nothing which does not satisfy the heart there is no bewilderment of passions as in our human life. There is not the pain of parting from loved ones which causes an ever-increasing sadness. Nor is there any pain of hatred or envy, for they look upon each other with eyes of mercy and with a heart of sympathy. Their heart, seeking the Pure Land, is not tarnished with various passions and they are above considerations of worldly success. Their purity of heart is like cloth woven of white threads. It is like pure water. They are not much concerned about anything but think only upon Mida. They constantly apply their mind to this law and so naturally attain entrance to this country. Nothing that they seek is denied them. Their body is as of diamond and so is not burned even though it is in fire. It does not become tarnished even though it is in the mud. Their heart is not stained with the dust of their environment. Their marvelous body of purity and strength is not affected by the sufferings of any and all sufferings combined.⁽¹⁾ They are never injured even though attacked by ten times ten thousand numberless warriors armed with spears and arrows. They are not burned even though they may be in the midst of limitless flames; nor are they drowned though they are submerged in a fathomless ocean. Therefore they can go freely even into the eight Hot Hells and the eight Cold Hells in order to save their relatives from the Three Worlds and the Six Realms.

On the other hand, the beings in our world have bodies of flesh and so they are weak both within and without. And as they lack a heart of purity and strength their five passions⁽²⁾ mount up higher than Mount Sumeru and sink deeper than the bottom of the blue ocean. They are constantly allured by color and odor, and they are bewildered in body and mind. They covet the things which have no real existence and are not satisfied even when they have enough. Their desire is never satisfied throughout their whole life of struggle. Covetousness is the chief among the hundred and eight passions.⁽³⁾ These passions not only produce the cause of future rebirths but they also injure our weak bodies from with-

(1) Sufferings combined 五盛陰苦, This is the eighth of the Eight Difficulties 八難, namely: (1) Birth; (2) Old Age; (3) Sickness, (4) Death; (5) Hatred; (6) Separation; (7) Frustration of one's desires; (8) The combination of the preceding seven sufferings.

(2) The Five Passions 五欲 are the passions of the five senses

(3) The Hundred and Eight Passions are the following: To the Five Roots, i.e. five senses, is added the Will, making thus the Six Roots 六根. Each Root or passion has six aspects, thus making thirty-six passions. These are operative in the past, present and future and thus we get thirty-six times three or One Hundred and Eight Passions.

out. There are the sufferings from fire, sufferings from water, sufferings from swords, sufferings from hunger, sufferings from hitting each other with stones or clubs, and sufferings from cold and heat according to the four seasons. There is nothing but suffering when we examine even the smallest parts of our bodies, not to mention the larger parts. But when we have been born into this Pure Land everything is like a diamond changeless, permanent, without increase or decrease, wonderful, and therefore there is no such suffering as in our fleshly body ; yea, it is less than the finest particle of dust.](¹)

If one has once obtained a place upon the Stand of Seven Treasures he forever leaves behind the sea of life and death where beings are submerged in the sufferings of the Three Worlds and the Six Realms. If as a result of a special vow one is born into another world, this will be free and unrestricted annihilation (of evil) but not the annihilation of the rewards of good works. If one is in Paradise there is not even a name for suffering or for pleasure. How much less then is there any suffering ! In fact, there is not as much as the seed of a poppy.

In a poem by Nagarjuna we read : " If one has been born into Paradise, he shall never again fall into hell or Realm of Hungry Spirits. Therefore I, too, with no confidence in myself, will put my trust in Mida with singleness of heart and seek after the Pure Land."

CHAPTER VI

The Pleasures of Being Attracted and Making Covenants

The Pleasures of Being Attracted and Making Covenants are as follows : The things men seek after while living in this world are not really in accordance with their hearts' desires. The tree seeks to be quiet but the wind blows without ceasing. The son wishes to take care of his parents but the parents do not survive long enough. And even though the parents should live, the son, in the case of a poor family, cannot provide what his filial piety would prompt him to do even though he would be ready to " burst his bladder " in the attempt. [If he goes far away from home on business he will be unable to look upon the graceful faces of his parents in the morning or care for them in the bed-chamber in the evening. As all this is impossible for him, he breaks his heart in vain in the effort.](¹) The same thing is true in the relationship of master and servant, teacher and disciple, husband and wife, friend and friends among relatives

(x) The section in brackets is not in the older Chinese editions

and with all people, to whom one owes an obligation. By worrying thus with a heart of foolish love one only increases the work of Karma. How much more does the Law of Cause and Effect progress favorably when each one lives in his own separate place !

Every man knows where he is now and what kind of life he is living in the Six Realms and the Four Births [Viviparous birth, oviparous birth, birth from moisture, birth by transfiguration].⁽¹⁾ But who knows but that the animal in the field or the bird on the mountain may not once have been our parents in their former existence. [This thought is expressed in an old poem which reads: "There is a cuckoo in the hillside field crying 'Cuckoo! Cuckoo!' Who knows but that it is my father or my mother."]⁽¹⁾ In a verse of the Shindikwagyo 心地觀經 we read: "Men in this world commit various sins for the sake of their children and then they fall down into the realms of Hell, Hungry Spirits or Beasts to receive suffering for a long time. Not being saints nor having the mysterious power of communication they cannot understand their former transmigrations. All beings fail to make retribution by kindness to others. All beings are caught on the Wheel of Birth and Death. They pass around from stage to stage in the Six Realms like the wheel of a wagon, without beginning or end. At one time they are father or mother, at another time may be husband or wife, and they show kindness to each other during the various lives in this world. But if they are born into Paradise they are endowed with a superior wisdom and their clear power of mysterious communication reaches unto those who were formerly their benefactors and to those who were their acquaintances through many lives and generations, they can attract them freely. Endowed with a heavenly eye, they can see where they live, and with their heavenly ear they can hear their voice. Their wisdom of destiny enables them to remember the favors (of their former benefactors) and with their insight into others' hearts they understand their hearts. Their mysterious powers of communication enables them to go where they are, and by changing their form they can adapt themselves to their needs and in various ways teach them and lead them in the way of salvation." And again it is explained in the Byodokyo 平等經 where we read: "Those who are born in the Pure Land of the West know for themselves where they lived in their previous lives, what was their state and by what causes they are now born into the Pure Land. Since they know everything about the present state of every being that goes and come to and from the Eight Directions and

(1) The sections in brackets are not in the older Chinese Edition.

up and down, they understand what the various heavenly beings, birds, beasts and insects think in their minds and the language which they speak. They all know in what year of what Kalpa these shall be born into this Land (Paradise) and obtain the fruits of a Sravaka or walk in the way of a Bodhisattva.

Again we read in the vow of Fugen in the Kegonkyo 華嚴經: "Oh that at the end of my life I might overcome all my various obstacles and look upon Amida Buddha and obtain birth into his world of happiness!" I wish I could obtain birth into this land and fulfill this great vow to make all things perfect, and to bestow benefit upon all beings without exception. Since such a one knows even the beings who have no relation to him, how much more should he care for those who are united with him. In a verse of Nagarjuna we read: "The pure and glorious light in a single moment illumines widely the meeting place of all the Buddhas and brings benefits to all beings."

CHAPTER VII

The Pleasures of the Fellowship of the Saints

The Pleasures of the Fellowship of the Saints are as follows: As it is said in the Scriptures, "All beings who hear of these pleasures rouse a desire to be born into this Land. That is because they can meet in fellowship with the various people of the highest good." The virtues of the hosts of Bodhisattvas are wonderful. The Bodhisattva Fugen said: "If there are living beings who have not yet planted any good words, and Sravaka or Bodhisattvas who have not planted a little of the Good Root, they will be unable to hear my name and much less see my body. If there are living beings who hear my name they will not fall from the Bodhisattva state. The same is true if they see me even in a dream. (This is the heart of the Kegonkyo 華嚴經).

Again it is said: "I constantly follow after the various beings, and throughout the Kalpas of the future I practise the immense works of Fugen and enable them to attain the state of the highest Bodhisattva. The form of the body of Fugen 普賢⁽¹⁾ is like the empty sky. He lives in the truth and not in the land. Revealing himself widely according to the desires of the various living beings he makes the bodies of all equal, satisfies all desires and bestows benefits upon them. Through the various ways of meditation he reveals the mysterious communication to all the

(1) Manjusri 文殊師利 and Fugen 普賢 are the two Bodhisattvas frequently associated with the Buddha S'aKya Muni in Mahayana Buddhism.

Buddhas in all lands. Each mysterious communication extends without exception to every country in the Ten Directions. It extends to the Nyorai of every land also to the very dust of each land.

The great Saint Manjusri 文珠師利⁽¹⁾ is the mother of the wisdom of all the Buddhas of the Three Worlds. That the Nyorai of the Ten Directions were able to convert their minds at first was due to Manjusri's influence. If all the beings of passion in all the worlds hear Manjusri's name, look upon his countenance and brilliant form, or look upon his various incarnations according to the various kinds of beings of passion, they can all fulfill the way of Buddha. This surpasses the power of our imagination. (This is the heart of the Kwangyo 觀經).

If one hears his (Manjusri's) name he can clear himself of the sins committed during his lives and deaths of 1,200,000,000 Kalpas. If one worships him and makes an offering to him he will always be born in the house of a Buddha. If one calls upon his name for one day, and much more so if one continues to call upon him for seven days, Manjusri will certainly appear to him. If one has some obstacle caused in a previous existence, even if he sees Manjusri only in a dream, all his desires will be satisfied. If any one sees his forms he will not fall into the evil way for a hundred Kalpas; and he who practices a heart of mercy shall certainly see Manjusri. One who receives his name, keeps it and calls upon it, shall never fall into the terrible flames of the Hell of No-Interval, even though he may have heavy obstacles in his way. And he shall be born in another direction, i. e. in the Buddha Land of Purity. (The above is the heart of the Monju Nehankyo 文珠涅槃經).

Again the blessings conferred upon living beings by hundred, thousand, hundred millions Nayuta of Hotoke are far less than those bestowed by the Bodhisattva Manjusri in one Kalpa. Therefore the blessings and happiness of those who call upon the name of the Bodhisattva Manjusri are far greater than that of those who receive and keep the names of all the hundred, thousand, hundred millions of Buddhas. (The above is the heart of the Hoshakukyo 寶積經).

The merits of the Bodhisattva Maitreya 彌勒 are immeasurable. Any one who hears his name shall not fall into the dark hells. If one calls upon his name but for a single moment his sins during the lives and deaths of 1,200 Kalpas are blotted out. One who relies upon him can continue in the incomparable high way without growing weary. (This is

(1) Manjusri 文珠師利 and Fugen 普賢 are the two Bodhisattvas frequently associated with the Buddha Sa'Kya Muni in Mahayana Buddhism.

the heart of the Miroku Joshokyo 彌勒 上生經).

One who praises and worships the Virtues of Maitreya can blot out the sins committed during the lives and deaths of hundred, thousand, ten thousand, hundred million, numberless Kalpas. (This is the heart of the Kokuzokyo 虛空藏經 and the Butsumyokyo 佛名經). His vows, wisdom and works which he performed through numberless thousand, ten thousand Kalpas are so great that they can not be measured. To enumerate them is impossible. (In a verse of the Kegonkyo 華嚴經, namely, in the fortieth volume of that scripture, it is said that the above-mentioned three Bodhisattvas continually live in the Paradise world).

The Bodhisattva Jizo 地藏 spends every morning on the sands of the Ganges in meditation and so he fills the whole world of Law and takes away the sufferings of the various beings. He surpasses all the great saints in their vows of mercy. (The heart of the Jurinkyo 十輪經). In a verse of this scripture it is said that the virtue of the Bodhisattva Jizo is so great that if one calls upon his name for one day, one obtains a greater blessing than by calling upon the names of other sages for the period of 10,000,000,000 Kalpas. Though we should spend a hundred Kalpas in singing the praises of his virtues we could not exhaust our theme. Therefore let every one make offerings to him. (Summary.)

The Bodhisattva Kwannon said: "If any beings who suffer call upon my name three times and I do not go to them and save them, then may I never obtain the right understanding." (Komokaieikyo 弘猛海慧經). There may be one who calls upon the names of the various hundred, thousand, Kuti (10,000,000,000) Nayuta (1,000,000,000,000) of Hotoke, and there may be one who calls upon my name for but a moment, the merit of these two is the same. The various beings who meditate upon my name can all of them obtain entrance into the land of Futaiten 不退轉 whence there is no removal by misfortune. (Juichimenkyo 十一面經). Those beings who hear the name of Kwannon are able to obtain release from suffering. He (Kwannon) also descends into hell to take upon himself the sufferings of hell in their stead. (A verse of Seikwannonkyo 請觀音經). The depth of his vow is like that of the sea and can not be measured even though one should meditate upon it for several Kalpas. He has ministered to many thousand, hundred millions of Hotoke and made a vow of great purity. Having the power of mysterious communications, he obtained universal wisdom and accommodations (to the needs of beings to be saved). There is no country in the Ten Directions in which Kwannon has not revealed himself. Let no one then have any doubt in his mind. He is the one upon whom may rely all beings who

are in suffering and in the pains of death. Being full of virtue he looks upon them with an eye of pity. He is the Bodhisattva whose blessing is as unfathomable as the sea. Therefore, trust him and look up to him in worship! (Heart of the Hokkekyo 法華經).

The Bodhisattva Daiseishi 大勢至 said: "All those beings whose evil heart hinders them in crossing over the sea of life and death, I am able to help pass over victoriously. (Heart of the Hoshakukyo 寶積經). He illumines all beings with the light of his wisdom and enables them to escape from the three ways. It is because this Bodhisattva does this with great power that he is called Daiseishi 大勢至, Great Power. He who looks upon this Bodhisattva can cleanse himself from the sins committed during the lives and deaths of numberless Kalpas of immeasurable duration. This Bodhisattva does not enter the womb but is continually in the wonderful and pure lands of all the Buddhas. (Heart of the Kwankyo 觀經). Throughout immeasurable, limitless and numberless Kalpas he fulfills his vows and is an assistant to Mida 彌陀. He is always present among the throng of beings and proclaims the words of the Law. All who hear him can obtain the pure eye. His powers of mysterious communications extend throughout the countries of the Ten Directions, and he manifests himself to all beings. If beings pray with a sincere mind, he will lead them all to the world of enjoyment. (Hymn by Nagarjuna.) Again it is said: "Kwannon 觀音 and Seishi 勢至 have both a great name. Their merit and wisdom is immeasurable, and great is their mercy. They save the world and play in the sea of all beings. To meet with such a superior Bodhisattva is indeed not easy. We therefore revere him and worship his face. (Summary.) Thus he becomes forever as the treasure of help of each place. The great Bodhisattvas are numberless like the grains of sand on the Ganges river. Their color and form is beautiful and they are full of virtue. They live continually in Paradise and gather about Mida Nyorai 彌陀如來. And again the crowd of the various Sravaka it is impossible to number. But his (Kwannon 觀音) mysterious transformation and wisdom reaches everywhere and his power is free. He is able to hold all the worlds in his hand. The number of the beings of the First Assembly is so great that even though a hundred thousand, ten thousand, hundred million immeasurable numberless men like Dai-mokuren 大目蓮, who was a man with the mysterious power of communication, should count them for a period of immeasurable numberless Kalpas, the portion which they could count would be like one drop of water while the uncounted portion would be like the great ocean. In that great throng there are innumerable beings who have not obtained the

fruit (of the Law), and again from other regions there come an innumerable number of beings who have obtained the fruit. But the total is neither increased nor decreased for it is like the water of the great ocean which can be neither increased nor decreased whether the water of the river Ganges is added to it or not. The throng of the various Bodhisattvas is twice as great as the throng of the Sravakas. As it is said in the Dairon 大論: "As for the country of the Buddha Mida, the Bodhisattvas are many and the Sravakas are few." (Summary.) Thus Paradise is filled with a throng of holy beings who have a common life, see each other and hear each other's voice and who seek after the same way. There is no difference among them. There are numberless beings and Bodhisttavas from the Buddha lands of the Ten Directions, as numerous as the grains of sand on the Ganges river. Each one of these reveals his mysterious power of communication and comes to the Pleasant Country where he looks upon the precious face of Mida Nyorai and makes offerings to him in reverence. Some of them make offerings of wonderful heavenly flowers, some burn a wonderful kind of incense, and some offer priceless garments. There are some who make heavenly music and praise the Nyorai with soft and calm voices. Some listen to the scriptures or propagate the teaching. There is no hindrance in their going and coming night and day. Some go away to the east while others are coming from the west. Some go away to the west while others are coming from the north. And again some return to the north while others are coming from the south. Thus the throngs come and go from the four corners, the eight directions and the directions up and down. It is like a flourishing marketplace. To hear once the names of such saints does not happen by accident. How much more likely then, must it be to meet with one through the hundred, thousand, ten thousand Kalpas! And the beings in Paradise gather together continually in one place and talk with each other, exchange stories, ask questions, act with prudence, respect and are friendly toward one another and become intimate with each other. Is this not real enjoyment? (Summary of heart of the Sokwankyo 双觀經 and the Byodokyo 平等經).

In a verse by Nagarjuna we read: "The Bodhisattvas of this country have special characteristics and all of them beautify their bodies. I now trust, worship and leap over the prison of the Three Worlds. My eyes become like the green lotus. There is a throng of numberless Shomon, therefore I bow my head in worship." And again he says: "The various children of Buddha, coming from the Ten Directions, reveal clearly the mysterious power of communication. They behold the precious form of

Mida and do him reverence continually. Therefore I bow down before Mida Nyorai and worship him."

CHAPTER VIII

The Pleasures of Beholding Buddha and Hearing the Law

The Pleasures of Beholding Buddha and Hearing the Law are as follows: To see a Buddha and to hear the Law in this present world is a very difficult matter. The Bodhisattva Shishiku said: "We have learned numberless laws of deliverance throughout numberless hundred thousand Kalpas and now we see the great saint Sakyamuni. This is as much of an accident as if a blind turtle should meet a floating log." A Confucian youth sacrificed his body in order to obtain a half line of a certain poem, and Jotei "burst his bladder" to obtain true wisdom. Even Bodhisattvas do such things, and how much more, then, must ordinary people strive to attain! Sakya Buddha spent twenty-five years in the country of Sravasti. During that period, out of nine hundred millions of homes three hundred millions saw the Buddha, three hundred millions heard only his name, and the remaining three hundred millions neither saw him nor heard his name. If it is thus even when a Buddha is in the world, how much more (difficult to obtain salvation) is it after a Buddha has passed away! Therefore it is written in the Hokkekyo: "These sinful beings, because of their evil works, are unable to hear the honored name of the Three Precious Things though they spend an infinite number of Kalpas. But the dwellers in that Land continually behold Mida Buddha and hear wonderful expositions of the law." In that land of pure ornaments there are banyan trees whose leaves and branches spread in the four directions. These trees are made of various treasures brought together. They are covered with fine nets of treasures and from the branches are suspended necklaces of gems. When the breezes blow through the branches and leaves of the trees they give forth music about the mysterious Law which sounds throughout the various Buddha lands, and whosoever hears this obtains a profound understanding. Such a one lives in security and hearing is transcendent. Seeing the color of these trees, smelling their fragrance, tasting their fruit, feeling their light or grasping their shape—by all these the six senses are purified until they accomplish the way of the Buddha. Moreover, under these trees is a seat of infinite beauty. Upon this is seated Mida Nyorai whose infinite and limitless form can not be expressed in words or conceived by the heart. His hair which covers his head rises upward into the blue heavens. The light of his white eyebrows turns to the right and is like

the autumn moon. His eyes are like the green lotus, his lips like red flowers, and his voice is like that of the Karyobin.⁽¹⁾ His chest is like that of a lion, his legs are like those of Senrokuō,⁽²⁾ and his palms have a thousand circular lines. These peculiar characteristics are 84,000 in number. The attributes of his body are that of purple gold which is polished. The innumerable rays of light are like that of a thousand, ten thousand, hundred million suns and moons. Sometimes he stands in a chapel of Seven Treasures and preaches about the incomparable Law. His deep and wonderful voice gladdens the hearts of his audience. The throng of Bodhisattva, Shomon and heavenly beings with one accord join hands and when they arise they behold his face and worship him. Then the natural breezes blow gently and cause the branches of the trees of Seven Treasures to become entangled with each other and to drop wonderful flowers in the four directions. The various heavenly beings make all manner of music while their sleeves are blown by the breezes and they dance before him. At such a time their happy, entertaining and pleasing enjoyment is such that words can not express it.

Mida Buddha sometimes reveals his immense body and sometimes he reveals himself in a body only sixteen or eighteen feet in height. Sometimes he is seated at the foot of the tree of treasures and at times he is at the pond of treasures. He expounds the Scriptures and the Law, accommodating himself to the degree of understanding and in accordance with the way his hearers have sought the Law, when they were seeking the way of the Buddha while still in their previous existences. Thus he explains the different laws in various ways so that each one may become speedily enlightened and obtain the way.

The two Bodhisattvas Kwannon 觀音 and Seishi 勢至 are continually in attendance, one on the right and the other on the left, and they discuss things with him. The Buddha sits facing these two Bodhisattvas and discusses with them matters about communicating in the eight directions and up and down, and also about things of the present time. Sometimes an immeasurable numberless throng of Bodhisattvas, from Buddha lands as numberless as the grains of sand of the Ganges in the East, gather before the Buddha of Eternal Life. They reverently make offerings to the Buddha and also to the Bodhisattvas and even to the throng of Shomon. These visitors, coming from the Buddha lands of the eight directions and up and down, when they behold the wonders of this Paradise of Pure

(1) Karyobin (迦陵頻), a bird with a loud voice.

(2) Senrokuō (仙鹿王), the King Stag of the deer of the mountains.

Land begin to wish that their own lands might become like this. Then Mida Nyorai 彌陀如來 moves his form and smiles, and from his mouth proceed numberless rays of light which illumine the lands in the Ten Directions. The light runs three times around his body and then enters again his brows. The throng of all the heavenly beings leaps for fullness of joy. Thereupon Daishi Kwannon 大士觀音 in solemn dignity worshipping the Buddha, inquires of him, saying: "May it please thee to explain why thou smilest?" Then the Nyorai, with a wonderful voice of eight sounds and loud like thunder, makes answer to the Bodhisattva, saying: "Hear ye me clearly! The desires of the throng of Bodhisattvas coming from the Ten Directions, I know perfectly. I shall grant their desires for a land of wonderful purity and an object of boundless pleasures. Know ye that everything is like a dream or like a sound! All their marvellous desires shall be satisfied. They shall without fail obtain a pure land like this. Knowing that all phenomena are like a flash of lightning, let them decide upon the way of the Bodhisattva, achieve the various virtues, obtain a fixed mind and attain Buddhahood! If they understand that the nature of all phenomena is voidness and that there is no ego, and if they seek eagerly after the pure Buddha land, they shall certainly obtain a land like this." (Summary.) How much more then will this be the case when even the sound of waters, the singing of the birds and the grass and trees all proclaim the wonderful Law, and when one can hear naturally and spontaneously whatever one wishes to hear. Where else could one find such a pleasure of the Law! (This is mostly from the Sōkwankyō 双觀經 and the Byōdōkakukyō 平等覺經).

In a hymn by Nagarjuna we read: "There is a seat of a wonderful stand growing from the good root of the flowers blooming in the pond of treasures. On this seat he sits like a Mountain King. The law of all existence is Impermanency and of a Non-ego Principle. It is like the moonlight upon the water, like the sparkle of a dew drop, or a flash of lightning. There is no law which can be called a Law." By this he wishes to show the heart of the eternal, unchangeable, wonderful Law. Therefore I also worship Mida Buddha and continually pray that I, together with various beings, may obtain birth into that happy country.

CHAPTER IX

The Pleasures of Making Offerings to Buddha According to One's Heart's Desire.

The Pleasures of Making Offerings to Buddha According to One's Heart's Desire are as follows: The inhabitants of the Pure Land continually, through night and day, make offerings of various heavenly flowers to the Buddha of Boundless Life. If they have a desire in their hearts to make offerings to the Buddhas of the other worlds they come before Mida Nyorai, bow and with joined hands make their request known to him and he grants their wish. Then all are greatly pleased and this throng of thousand, ten thousand, hundred millions of beings fly up into the sky or ride on the clouds in pairs and scatter in bands going joyously away in a moment to the immeasurable Buddha lands in the Ten Directions just as if they were going simply to a neighbor's house. There they approach in worship the Buddhas, make offerings and serve them respectfully. The things they offer are the following: Various wonderful flowers of *tagara*, *manaban*, orchids, *jatai* (1) and various other fragrant things and the wonderful food of a hundred tastes; also clothes of various shades and colors, various kinds of musical instruments and all manner of offerings which they produce at will. Every morning they make these offerings and for meal times they return to their own land. After eating and drinking they read the scriptures, practice the Dharani (2) and enjoy the pleasures of the various laws. It is said that they make offerings three times a day to the various Buddhas. While believers are still in this present world, seeing and hearing through the scriptures about the various virtues of the Buddha lands of the Ten Directions, they beget a heart of longing and they say sadly to each other: "When shall we be able to see the Pure Lands of the Ten Directions and meet with the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas?" But if one should by chance obtain birth into this Paradise World one can, either on one's own strength or through the strength received from the Buddha, go in the morning and return in the evening or go and come in a moment to and from all the Buddha lands which lie in the Ten Directions. There one may serve the various Buddhas, live with the great teachers and continually hear about the true law. Such a one obtains entrance into the perfect

(1) Tagara, manaban, jatai flowers with a sweet fragrance.

(2) Dharani. There are four ways to practice Dharani: (1) Reading the scriptures and not forgetting their meaning; (2) Meditating on the various Laws and not forgetting them; (3) Through meditation find the hidden meaning; (4) To dwell in peace in the real truth of the Law.

enlightenment. Moreover, such a one can enter the various mundane spheres, engage in the various Buddhist ceremonies and practice works of benevolence. Is not this real joy? (From the heart of the Amidakyō 阿彌陀經, Byōdōkakukyō 平等覺經 and Sōkwankyō 雙觀經). As Nagarjuna said about the heart of Buddha: "It is hard for a human being to make a perfect offering to pictures and wooden images or to the name of one or two Buddhas." And it is difficult to worship an image of the famous and mysterious Buddha. How incomparable, then, is the joy with which the great Bodhisattvas of this Paradise of Pure Land make direct offerings to the Buddhas of the Ten Directions three times each day and in accordance with their hearts' desires! But this is also due to the good works of their previous lives and therefore they continually worship and keep in mind Mida Buddha.

CHAPTER X

The Pleasures of Making Progress in the Way of Buddha.

The Pleasures of Making Progress in the Way of Buddha are as follows: In this present world it is hard to practice the way and obtain the fruit. The reason is that the one who suffers is always sad and the one who obtains pleasures is always captivated by them. Therefore whether it be pleasure or pain, both are far removed from the way of deliverance. Whether one is prosperous or in misfortune, both are alike bound to the wheel of change. Even the few whose mind is converted and who practice good works find it difficult to succeed. Evil passions break out from within and evil circumstances pull one from without. Some are double minded and some return to the Three Evil Ways. It is just like the moonlight on the water which trembles with every ripple. It is like the soldier who runs away from the enemy's sword, or like little fish, few of which ever reach maturity. Or again, it is like the fruit of the orchard tree which seldom ripens before it falls. That Mokuren backslid though he tried for sixty Kalpas was due to this fact. Only Shaka Nyorai was able to pile up merit and virtue through hard and painful works for numberless Kalpas. He sought after the way of the Bodhisattva and never ceased for even a moment. Looking around in the Three Thousand Great Thousand Worlds, there is not to be found a particle as small as a poppy seed for which this Bodhisattva did not sacrifice his body. All this he did in order to save living beings. Thus disciplining himself he was able to achieve the way of understanding. All other beings who attempted to establish themselves failed in practicing the discipline. With them it

was like a baby elephant being killed by swords and arrows because of its weakness. Therefore Nagarjuna says: "It is as if a man poured a *shō* of hot water upon a sheet of ice forty ri in extent. When he pours it on it melts a little hole in the ice, but the next morning there is a little bump of ice in its place. Just like that it is when in this world the ignorant man seeks to reform his heart and save himself from suffering. Because in this world there is so much anger, covetousness and rebellion he rouses the passions in himself and so falls again into the evil way. (Summary.) But the beings in this Paradise Land do not backslide because they have abundant favorable causes surrounding them. They make progress in the Buddha Way. These favorable causes are the following: 1. They are ever sustained by the power of the mercy of Mida Buddha; 2. The light of Mida Buddha constantly shines upon them so that the mind of right understanding is ever increasing; 3. The water, birds, trees, tinkling of bells by the breezes and other sounds constantly remind them of the Nembutsu, the Law and the Priesthood and so develop their hearts; 4. The various Bodhisattvas are their friends and so there are no evil external circumstances and all doubts within are removed; 5. Their lives are as long as the eternal Kalpas and equal to that of a Buddha so that they are not interrupted by birth and death and thus are enabled naturally to calm their minds and achieve the Way of the Buddha. We read in a poem of the Kegonkyō 華嚴經: "If a being looks but once upon a Buddha he will without fail be purified from all evil." If it is true that but one glance will have this effect, then how much greater must be the effect when one constantly beholds the Buddha! Even the effects of evil deeds committed throughout countless hundred millions of Kalpas would pass away like a spring snow or dew drops and frost in the sunshine. Thus, because of the various favorable circumstances, the hearts of the beings in Paradise are in no way like our hearts. In their going and coming, in their advancing and in their resting they are not at all troubled in their minds. All these beings obtain hearts of great love and mercy. It is natural for them to make progress in the Way of Buddha and to understand the doctrine of Non-Birth and Non-Death. Ultimately and without fail they obtain the position of an Isshofushō 一生補所⁽¹⁾ Bodhisattva or suddenly able to bear witness as a sublime Bodhisattva. And they attain Buddhahood and are able for the sake of living beings to reveal themselves in eight forms, or in accordance with circumstances they can go to the

(1) One who attains Buddhahood by one truth and passes through all realms of existence unhindered.

land of sublimity and purity and there turn the wheel of the marvellous Law and so save various beings. That today I desire Paradise and wish to have all beings obtain the same and that I am going throughout the Ten Directions to draw living beings unto myself, is just like Mida Nyorai's great vow of mercy. Is not such grace joy? Truly the affairs of this life are in the interval of a dream. Why then not fling away everything and seek after the Paradise of the Pure Land? May all believers beware of being idle. (Taken largely from the Sōkwankyō 双觀經 and Tendai no Jugi 天臺の十疑 and so forth.)

In a poem by Nagarjuna we read: "In Mida's infinite and accommodating realm there is no bad purpose or foolish wisdom. There is no illumination in evil causes but only natural progress in the Buddha Way. If one once obtains birth he will be unmoved and he will attain full enlightenment. Therefore I accept Mida Buddha and worship him. If I should tell about his virtues, his goodness is as wide, great and limitless as the waters of the great ocean. Oh that I might obtain the Good Root and purity and that I might together with other beings obtain birth in that land! May we together with all beings be born into the Pleasant Land of Peace!"

— End —

Appendix

Outline of Divisions III to X of Ojo Yoshu.⁽¹⁾

Division III. Evidences for the Existence of Paradise.

1. Nature of Paradise.
2. Why the distinction between the Pure Land and the Evil World?
Because man is evil and as such he can not enter Paradise, i. e. as evil he must be in an evil place.
3. Suppression of our evil desires.

Division IV. Correct Practice of *Nembutsu*.

1. Worship.
2. Adoration.
3. Making Vows.
4. Meditation.
6. Mass for the Dead.

Division V. Methods of Promoting *Nembutsu*.

1. By men of virtuous character.
2. By men who can practice the fourfold discipline :
 - a. Spend much time at *Nembutsu*.
 - b. Being punctual.
 - c. Without intermission day or night.
 - d. Leaving nothing undone.
3. Warning against being lazy or slothful in *Nembutsu*.
 - a. Remembering Amida's Forty-eighth Vow.
 - b. Making merit as in Imakyo.
 - c. Being virtuous according to the Six Perfections of the Roku Haramitsukyo.
 - d. Being holy as required in the Byodokakukyo.
 - e. Doing no harm as in Hoshakukyo.
 - f. Flying freely as the previous Scripture, i. e. Hoshakukyo.
 - g. Mysterious Communications as in *Jujuron*.
 - h. Changing Appearance according to environment as in *Jujuron*.
 - i. Heavenly Eye seeing clearly as in *Jujuron*.
 - j. Freely Hearing as in *Jujuron*.
 - k. Knowing others heart and mind as in *Jujuron*.
 - l. Knowing the truth wherever we live as in *Jujuron*.

(1) This part of the Ojo Yoshu is not in the popular editions and not included in our translation.

- m. Unlimited Knowledge as in *Hoshakukyo*.
- n. Well-balanced disciplined mind as in *Jujuron*.
- o. Happiness and Grace wherever we live as in *Jujuron*.
- p. Pity towards all as in *Daihannyakyo*.
- q. Without hindrance making apologetics for Buddha as in *Jujuron*.
- r. Seeing Buddha's Law Body as *Manjusri* said.
- s. Seeing all Buddha's virtues as the Bodhisattva *Fugen* said.
- t. Desiring to see the teaching as stated in *Hannyakyo*.
- 4. Stopping Evil and Doing Good as in Kwambutsu Sammaikyo.
There are five causes and results, namely :
 - a. Not breaking the commandments.
 - b. Not being heretical in doctrine.
 - c. Not being proud.
 - d. Not being angry or jealous.
 - e. Advancing with courage.
 - f. Reading the scriptures, thinking about the power of the Buddha, and seeing the numberless Buddhas.
- 5. Confession of Sins.
- 6. Controlling Evil Deeds.
- 7. Reasons for the Need of Discipline.

Division VI. *Nembutsu* for Special Times.

- 1. Discipline for *Nembutsu* for ordinary times, i. e. certain hours by day and night, certain days in the month and certain seasons of the year.
- 2. At a Death Bed.

Division VII. Benefits of *Nembutsu*.

- 1. Destroying Evil and Living in the Good.
- 2. Seeing the Mysterious World and Having Protection.
- 3. Seeing Buddha Incarnate.
- 4. Victory in the Future.
- 5. Enjoying Special Benefits of Buddha.
- 6. With Illustrations Persuading Others to Believe in Buddha.
- 7. Turning Evil into Good.

Division VIII. Evidences for *Nembutsu*.

- 1. As it is written in the *Mokugenkyo*. "Since *Nembutsu* is the only way for all classes of people, therefore it is the superior way of salvation. It does not interfere with other ways." (He quotes also from other scriptures to prove this point.)

Division IX. Various Causes Leading to Birth into Paradise.

1. If any one wishes to enter Paradise let him think of Buddha.
There are two ways, namely,
 - a. Understanding the Teachings of many Scriptures.
 - b. Obeying all the Disciplines.

Division X. Questions and Answers.

1. True Nature of Paradise.
2. Gradations in Paradise.
3. Numbers Born into Paradise.
4. *Nembutsu* for Ordinary Times.
5. *Nembutsu* for the Death Bed.
6. Bad Heart and Good Fruits.
7. Relative Values of all Good Works.
8. Cause and Result of Faith and Unbelief.
9. Material and Causes for Promoting the Way.
10. Men and Methods for Promoting the Way.

Diary of an Official of the Bakufu.⁽¹⁾

TRANSLATED FOR THE SOCIETY.

On the 19th day of the first month, seventh year of the Kayei Era, Hayashi, Lord Rector of the University, Ido Tsushima-no-kami, Udono Mimbushosuke, and Matsuzaki Mantaro, arrived at Uraga at the fifth hour of the night.

20th.—Early in the morning, Toda Idzu-no-kami appeared at the official residence and said that seven American ships having already appeared off Koshiba, he had ordered Kurokawa Kahei, chief of the local officials, with censors and interpreters, to go out to them and to tell the Envoy Perry that Hayashi, Lord Rector of the University, Ido Tsushima-no-kami, Izawa Mimasaku-no-kami, Udono Mimbushosuke and Matsuzaki Mantaro had been ordered to Uraga from Yedo, that a meeting place had been erected at Date-Ura, Uraga, and that he should return to Uraga to hold conferences there. Perry had replied that he was resolved to go to Yedo and discuss matters at length with members of the Grand Council, and refused to return. Perry was said to be ill and did not meet the officials, but sent his replies by Adams. Kahei sent word that he is returning.

21st.—Kurokawa Kahei was sent out to the foreign vessels to say that, as it would be a violation of our laws if they should go to Yedo, officials had been appointed to negotiate with the Americans and had been sent down to Uraga to receive them; that this procedure, far from being a sign of disrespect, was intended to be an act of politeness; that, therefore, they should return to Uraga and discuss matters there. He also made inquiries concerning Perry's health. Adams replied that the Envoy was grateful for the inquiry about his illness; that the purport of the ~~message~~ message had been conveyed to the Envoy, and that the Envoy had said that he could not negotiate until after he had arrived in Yedo.

22nd.—Kahei, with minor censors and others, again went out to the foreign ships and said that, as foreign ships were prohibited from going to Yedo, they should return to Uraga. Adams repeated this to the Envoy, who replied that Adams would go to see what manner of place the Uraga Reception Hall was.

(1) See supplement to *Gaiko Komon Sho*, published by the Historiographic Section of the Tokyo Imperial University.

23rd.—Kurokawa Kahei went out to say that he had repeated to the various officials what had been told him yesterday. He asked who would go ashore at Date-Ura to inspect the Reception Hall and when they would come. He also asked how many would go ashore. Adams answered that fifteen officers would land on the following day, the 24th.

24th.—At the fourth hour, Hayashi, Lord Rector of the University, Ido Tsushima-no-kami (these two commissioners did not intend to present themselves unless the Envoy came), Toda Izumi-no-kami, Izawa Mimasaku-no-kami, Udono and Matsuzaki Mantaro, went to the Date-Ura Reception Hall and awaited the coming of the foreigners. Since the early morning, the skies had been overcast, with heavy seas running, and at the fourth hour a typhoon came up. Half an hour later, one warship returned to the mouth of Uruga Harbor, where it rode at anchor, but as it finally went back to Koshiba, an interpreter was sent to ask why they did not come. Adams answered that they had certainly intended to go ashore that day, but that owing to the typhoon their ship could not enter the harbor and was forced to return. He said that they would come tomorrow if the wind moderated.

25th.—The Lord Rector and the other commissioners were again at the reception Hall from the fifth hour, and at about the fourth hour Adams and about 14 others landed and were met by Mimasaku-no-kami, Udono and Matsuzaki. Adams presented his card, which was inscribed with European letters, and each of our officials returned his card upon which was written his title. (At this moment Mimasaku-no-kami folded his fan with a sharp report. The foreigners were much alarmed and their expressions changed; they placed their hands on the pistols which they wore at their waist and assumed a resolute attitude; but when Mimasaku-no-kami leisurely drew out his spectacles and began slowly to examine the cards one by one, they noticed his lack of concern and appeared to be relieved of their anxiety). Adams presented a letter in Chinese, the contents of which he did not discuss. He said that when the Envoy landed he would discuss it in detail with the Lord Rector and Tsushima-no-kami. (Tea, cakes and rice wine were now passed). At the eighth hour the foreigners withdrew. (This being the birthday of Washington, the founder of America, the salutes which they had refrained from firing were fired).

26th.—Adams' vessel still being anchored outside the harbor of Uruga, Kahei was again sent out to say that as Adams had inspected the Reception Hall on the preceding day, the Envoy should come to Uruga and begin his negotiations. Adams replied that the Reception Hall was

a very small place and that, therefore, the Envoy would not go ashore. Kahei admitted that the Reception Hall was not particularly large, but he did not believe that it was so small as to be inconvenient, and asked Adams to explain his statement.

Adams: "We have brought presents which, according to circumstances, we may wish to offer you. I said that the Reception Hall is inconvenient because there is no place in Uraga where the presents can be displayed. I have reported to the Envoy, and he will not assent, also because of the lack of space."

Kahei: "In that case, will Kurihama, last year's place, be agreeable?"

Adams replied that Kurihama was not a suitable place, and that while the Envoy intended to go to Yedo, he would not object to the selection of a satisfactory site either at Kanazawa or Kanagawa. Kahei said that he would report this to his superiors. (Adams today sent a letter to Kayama Eizayemon).

27th.—In the morning, Kurokawa Kahei went out to the foreign vessel and said that he had reported yesterday's conversation to his superiors, who had instructed him to say that a Reception Hall and an office had been constructed at Uraga, and to urge that the Americans should return to Uraga, as some satisfactory disposition could be made of the presents.

Adams: "In that case, there remains no choice left to us but to proceed with all our ships to Yedo." (In view of this statement, there was no further conversation). At the ninth hour, the six vessels at Koshiba all moved out into the open bay off Daishi Kawahara, and at the eighth hour Adams' ship, which had been lying off Date-Ura, also moved into the open bay.

28th.—The seven ships appeared to have proceeded to a point off Haneda. Again some one was sent to persuade them to return to Uraga, but they would not listen. (At this time, an express arrived from Yedo bearing official instructions and a private letter from Matsudaira Kawachino-kami, stating in effect that, as the arrival of the vessels at Yedo would be regarded as due to the negligence of the Shogunate, the Envoy should be met at Kanagawa).

29th.—At the seventh hour of the forenoon, the Lord Rector and the other commissioners left Uraga and proceeded to Kanagawa. (The post house at Kanagawa was designated to be the temporary office of the Governors of Uraga and became their lodgings.)

Second month, 1st day.—The police officer Kayama Eizayemon was sent out to the foreign vessels. He said: "As there are some good sites near Kanagawa, how would it be if one were selected and the negotiations

held there? How about Yokohama?"

Adams: "I should like to see it."

Adams, Eizayemon being with him, went to Yokohama, examined it and withdrew, pronouncing it to be a very good site. (The construction of a temporary building to be the Reception Hall was begun and continued day and night).

2nd.—Eizayemon was despatched to the ship to say that they should wait until the Yokohama Reception Hall was completed. They replied that, in that case, they would return to Kanagawa; and immediately the seven ships returned in line to Kanagawa. (At the fourth hour, Matsudaira Kawachi-no-kami arrived at Kanagawa and conveyed to the commissioners the secret instructions of the Shogunate. They continued in conference until the dawn).

3rd.—Towards the evening, two officials arrived on horseback from Uedo bearing despatches from the Grand Council. Two of the officials on duty at Kanagawa were instructed to return to Yedo, where their presence is required on account of official business.

4th.—At sunrise, it then being the eighth hour, the Lord Rector and Tsushima-no-kami returned to Yedo and repaired at once to the offices in the Palace, where a conference was held.

5th.—The Lord Rector and Tsushima-no-kami again went to the Palace and met Chunagon, the retired Prince of Mito. They also met the lords-in-waiting at the Tamari room.

6th.—At the seventh hour, the Lord Rector and Tsushima-no-kami left Yedo and arrived in the evening at Kanagawa. At the seventh hour an American warship arrived at Kanagawa, making a total of eight warships.

7th.—Kurokawa Kahei and the interpreter Moriyama were sent out to the foreign vessels. Perry said that he would enter into negotiations, but if his proposals were rejected, he was prepared to make war at once; that in the event of war he would have 50 ships in nearby waters and 50 more in California, and that if he sent word he could summon a command of one hundred warships within twenty days. He also said that the officials sent to negotiate with him should hand him the document granting them full powers; that they had thus far sent him no documents, and that they should be provided with such documents. He later added it would be satisfactory if the documents were shown to him on the 9th.

8th.—In the morning, the Lord Rector, Tsushima-no-kami, Udon and Mantaro went to examine the Reception Hall and returned before the ninth hour. In the afternoon Adams and about 30 others landed, saying that they wished to examine the Reception Hall. Kahei remained to

conduct them about.

9th.—Kurokawa Kahei and Moriyama Einosuke went out to arrange for the Envoy's reception on the 10th and to ask about the time of departure, number of persons landing, and so forth. Perry said that he wished to have examples of the crests of the Shogun and of the Lord Rector. They were told that the crest of the Shogun could not be given, but that the Lord Rector's crest would be shown them by the interpreter Hori Tatsunosuke, who had a coat given him by the Lord Rector.

10th.—The Lord Rector, Tsushima-no-kami, Mimasaku-no-kami, Udono, Mantaro, and others, went at an early hour to the Reception Hall. (Three sides of the Reception Hall, that is to say, the left, right and back, were guarded by retainers of Ogasawara Daiyu and Masuda Shinano-no-kami. Off-shore there were several hundred guard boats). At the ninth hour the Envoy Perry came ashore. (There was a line of 28 barges, and on the Envoy's barge alone a white flag was hoisted. About 600 men in all came ashore and formed in line to the sound of music) Perry with more than 30 men entered the Reception Hall and took his seat. The Lord Rector, Tsushima-no-kami, Udono and Mantaro made their salutations).

The Lord Rector: "It is a great pleasure to make your acquaintance and to felicitate you on having completed a second voyage from distant parts."

Perry: "I am glad to make your acquaintance. I felicitate you on your good health. On this occasion, I shall fire a salute of 21 guns in honour of the Princes and 18 guns in honor of the Lord Rector. Another salute of 18 guns will be fired to celebrate my first landing." (After he explained the foreign custom of firing salutes of 21 guns for sovereigns, 18 guns for ministers of state, and 15 guns for those of next lower rank, upon auspicious occasions, the shots were fired in succession).

The Lord Rector: "Last summer, the President sent our Taicoon a letter, which you presented. Among the various requests made in this letter, there were some referring to fuel, water and provisions. An order has already been issued regarding this matter. As you appear earnestly to desire coal, we will make an exception and supply you with what we have. Further, with regard to the kindly treatment of shipwrecked persons, we have had laws in the past regarding shipwrecked persons; but such persons will be treated with kindness hereafter. We will assent, therefore, to two of these proposals, but the others, regarding trade and so on, we cannot accept."

Perry (not replying to these statements): "You must pardon me for bringing up this matter so abruptly, but a member of the crew of one of

my ships, a man of low rank, has just died. If his death had occurred in any other country, he would have been buried without delay, but I understand that the laws of your country are particularly severe, and I wish, therefore, first to ask where he may be buried. After examining the shore, I observe that the island of Natsushima, which lies off Kanagawa, has upon it no houses or dwellings, and I assume, therefore, that there will be no objection to his burial there. If it should not cause you any inconvenience, I wish to consider his burial there to be a settled matter." (At this moment, one of the barges, bearing a white flag, returned to Kanagawa from Uraga. It was beached on Natsushima, and four or five persons landed and walked about as though searching for a burial plot).

The Lord Rector: "It is indeed sad that one coming from so far a place should die. Even the life of one of humble rank is not a light matter. In Japan, we bury persons in temples and not in places where there are no human habitations. True, he was not one of our countrymen, but how disconsolate would be burial in an uninhabited place! We will select a place where he may be buried. Natsushima is an uninhabited island belonging to certain lords and nothing can be done it without the permission of the authorities. He should be buried at the foot of the Uraga Lighthouse."

Perry: "Whether the remains can be sent to Uraga will depend upon the state of the weather, and will entail much trouble. I intend to remain here until the present negotiations are concluded, even if that should require one or two years. During this period, others will die; and it would be extremely inconvenient to remove the remains each time to Uraga. Dead men can do no wrong."

The Lord Rector: "As foreign vessels are not permitted to enter the bay beyond Uraga, your countrymen will be unable in later years to worship at his grave; but if this is not a matter of importance to you, he may be buried in a temple nearby; and the grave may be removed later, if circumstances require this." (This matter was raised unexpectedly, and we, as well as the foreigners, wished to settle it without delay. For this reason, a reply was made at once)

Perry: "I thank you very much. If you will agree to this arrangement, it would be most convenient, on the understanding that the graves may be removed later, if necessary. The fact that our countrymen will be unable later to worship before these graves is not of importance, and I hope that you will accede to my request." (Perry appeared to be extraordinarily grateful, to the extent even of shedding tears).

"We have in our country always regarded human life as of the first

importance in the conduct of our government, and, therefore, whenever any of our countrymen—of course—or persons belonging to another country or even to a country with which we do not ordinarily have intercourse, reach our shores after having been shipwrecked, we exert every effort to rescue them, and we treat them with kindness. I perceive no sign, however, that human life is counted in your country to be of great importance; for whenever a vessel of any foreign country approaches your shores, you repel it with guns; and when shipwrecked persons reach the shore, you treat them like slaves and keep them in harsh imprisonment. Whenever Japanese are shipwrecked off our shores, my countrymen rescue them and send them back to their own country; but when such persons return to their own country, you will not receive them. You thus seem to have no regard even for your own countrymen and to be exceedingly inhumane. Our country has become one of the great powers, despite various circumstances; our California faces Japan, the two being divided, not by another country, but by the Pacific Ocean. In a short time, the ships frequenting Japanese waters will greatly multiply in number, and if the government of your country continues to adhere to its harsh practices and a large number of lives are sacrificed, we would not overlook it. If your country should persist in its present practices and fail to mend them, and if ships are not helped, it will surely be looked upon with hostility. If your country becomes an enemy, we will exhaust our resources if necessary to wage war. We are fully prepared to engage in a struggle for victory. Our country has just had a war with a neighboring country, Mexico, and we even attacked and captured its capital. Circumstances may lead your country also into a similar plight. It would be well for you to reconsider."

The Lord Rector: "If forced by circumstances, we also will go to war; but many of your statements are not true, due, I assume, to the fact that many of your ideas have been created by mistaken reports. It is only natural, perhaps that as we have no intercourse with other countries you should have mistaken ideas about our government. Our government is not the inhumane thing you describe. First, we excel any other country in the importance we attach to human life. For this reason, we have enjoyed peace for more than 300 years. If we were so inhumane as to consider human life cheaply, the state I have described could not have been possible. Our laws forbid the construction of large vessels and their navigation to foreign countries, so we cannot rescue vessels on the high seas; but when foreign vessels are in distress along our shores and ask for fuel, water, or provisions we have been accustomed to mete out kindly

treatment. It is not true, as you said, that we do not help ships in distress wrecked along our coasts. We will continue to supply fuel, water and provisions. Then, your statement that shipwrecked persons have been thrown like slaves into prison, must be due to false reports. According to our laws, shipwrecked persons wherever they may be found, are to be treated with kindness and sent to Nagasaki and there delivered to the Dutch captain, by whom they are returned to their respective countries. Some time ago, certain of your countrymen arrived in distress at Matsumae, which is a place in the north; they were all taken to Nagasaki and from there sent to your country. There are persons who, even though in distress, are not of good character: they violate our laws and do as they please. Such we are obliged to detain temporarily before sending them to Nagasaki; but it is the unlawful behavior of persons of this character which alone brings about such treatment. It is quite possible that upon their return, they assert that they were treated like slaves, and otherwise circulate false reports. There is nothing inhumane about our government; and I am certain that if you will examine the state of our country and study the facts, your doubts will be dissolved. If you in your country truly value human life, you will not allow the resentment of successive years to crystalize. These are not matters so grave as to make war necessary. It would be well for you indeed to reconsider."

Perry: "I have heard that your country has issued an order to supply foreign ships with fuel, water and provisions, and to rescue vessels in distress, as you have said; but our ships have frequently approached this country and have met with nothing but refusals; and they have not readily been able to obtain fuel and water. If your government is in fact as you describe it to be, and if you continue hereafter to supply fuel, water and provisions, and give help to those in distress, nothing more can be said. I desire, however, that a decree may be issued concerning the method by which you will hereafter supply fuel, water, provisions and coal. I shall be satisfied also if you reply to me that you will hereafter treat shipwrecked persons in as kindly a manner as you have just described.

"Why do you not allow commerce? Commerce has to do with the things which a nation has and with what it lacks; it is a source of great profit and now flourishes between the countries of the world day and night. It brings great wealth to each country. If you open your country to commerce it will bring to you great profit and will surely be to your great advantage."

The Lord Rector: "However much commerce has to do with what a nation has or lacks and would therefore be to its advantage, our country

since the beginning has found the things which it produces to be sufficient for its own needs. We are not discontented at being without the products of other countries. Having decided that we shall not permit commerce, we cannot easily decide to permit it. You say that your principal purpose in coming was to have greater value placed on human life and to have help given to ships. You have attained your purpose. Now, commerce has to do with profits, but has it anything to do with human life? Is it not enough that you have gained what you sought?"

Perry cogitated for some time and then said: "You are right. As you say, I came because I valued human life, and the important thing is that you will give our vessels help. Commerce brings profit to a country, but it does not concern human life. I shall not insist upon it."

Perry now drew out of one of his pockets a small book and then returned it. He repeated this two or three times, but finally he drew it out and said: "This book is the treaty made between the United States and China when commerce was first established. I brought it because, if commerce were to be permitted, it would govern this matter fairly and equitably; but in view of your arguments, I shall not insist. Having brought it, I hope that you will peruse it for your information only." (He presented a book in Chinese).

The Lord Rector: "We cannot easily agree to engage in commerce, as I said; but if you desire me merely to peruse your treaty with China, I have no objection to doing so." He received the book. It now being the evening, the discussions were brought to an end, and the banquet was brought in. The Lord Rector withdrew to the retiring room in order to indicate that his rank is higher than that of Perry and also to enable him, in the interests of the country, to maintain an attitude of reserve. Tsushima-no-kami, Mimasaku-no-kami, Udono and Mantaro ate with the foreigners. As soon as the banquet ended, the Lord Rector entered to make his farewells. Perry and the other foreigners then returned.

11th.—The interpreter Moriyama Einosuke was sent out to Perry's ships. Perry said: "Thank you indeed for your help yesterday. That occasion being my first meeting with the Lord Rector and the other officials, I am beginning to appreciate the good will which inspires them."

12th.—The interpreter sent out to the ship was told that Perry wishes to offer presents.

13th.—Word is sent out to the ship to tell the Americans that they will be allowed to offer presents whenever they find it convenient. They are asked to fix a time, and they reply that they will offer the presents on the 15th.

14th.—We asked if the gifts would be presented tomorrow, the 15th, and, if so, how many men would land.

15th.—The Lord Rector and the other officials proceeded to Yokohama, where the Americans, after the ninth hour, began bringing their gifts. They are commanded by Abbott and Lee, who directed and arranged everything. Perry did not come ashore today. Nor did Adams. Whenever Perry and Adams went ashore, Abbott and Lee remained on their vessel, and whenever Abbott and Lee went ashore, Perry and Adams remained on their vessel. Abbott is said to be of the same rank as Perry and wears the same uniform, while Lee is of the same rank as Adams. Considering these facts, we assume that they plan, in the event of Perry and Adams landing and being captured by our soldiers lying in ambush, that Abbott, who would be afloat, should replace Perry as admiral of the fleet, while Lee should replace Adams.

16th.—An interpreter was despatched to say that we wish to discuss the designation of places where fuel, water, provisions and coal are to be supplied. They answered that they wish to discuss this matter at Yokohama.

17th.—We agreed to a conference in the near future and said that tomorrow would be a favorable time. A copy of the draft treaty is also sent (No reply). They answered that they would land tomorrow.

18th.—Although a conference was to have been held today, it was postponed on account of the inclement weather.

19th.—The Lord Rector and the other officials proceeded to Yokohama. (They all went in a government vessel called the Tenjin Maru, which had been sent around from Yedo. Hereafter, they will always go in the same manner). At the ninth hour, Perry, Adams, Buchanan, accompanied by about 200 men, came ashore.

Perry : "It was a great pleasure to have met you the other day. I am very glad that the presentation of the gifts has been completed."

The Lord Rector : "It was indeed very courteous of you to have sent presents to us individually, as well as to the Shogun."

Perry : "Will you supply our vessels, when in distress off your shores, with fuel, water, provisions and coal, as you said you would the other day? I also desire that you will arrange similarly to provide vessels, which do not lack fuel, water, provisions or coal, with any other articles of which they may be in need. What are your views on this matter?"

The Lord Rector : "We will give a vessel any commodity the lack of which places that vessel in distress, provided, however, that we have large quantities of this commodity; but we cannot sell it."

Perry : " I shall be grateful if you will provide anything of which our ships may be in need. We intend, however, to pay for the fuel, provisions, water and coal supplied to our ships, as it is not the custom in any country to receive without payment the commodities of another country. We intend in any event to pay for these things."

The Lord Rector : " The giving of supplies to help vessels surely calls for no reimbursement."

Perry : " If payment is not acceptable, it is only reasonable that you should receive a return gift. A suitable return gift will be made in every case."

The Lord Rector : " If they are considered to be return gifts, we will not decline to accept them."

Perry : " In that case, may we offer things produced in our country, or gold or silver ? "

The Lord Rector : " If they are to be return gifts, anything will be acceptable ; but as the giving of merchandise would resemble commerce, you may select gold or silver, as you please."

Perry : " In that case, the return gifts will be made with gold or silver. As we wish to make the return gifts correspond in value to the supplies, we desire to know the fair prices of these things and to have these prices fixed."

The Lord Rector : " That is agreeable."

Perry : " Where are these supplies to be obtained ? As we have already met at this place, we would like hereafter to be able to procure here fuel, water, provisions and coal. I desire you also to designate five or six other ports, or to permit our ships to enter any harbor to procure supplies."

The Lord Rector : " Concerning places where supplies will be procurable, Nagasaki, in the Province of Hizen, has hitherto had to do with all foreign matters ; and your ships may therefore go at any time to Nagasaki. They may not come here."

Perry : " I have already heard about Nagasaki, but it is a most inconvenient place, for the reason that vessels of our country bound for Canton, China, and having reached the Loochoo Islands, can—if they run short of supplies—hasten to the Chinese coast and obtain as much fuel, water, provisions and coal as they please. This would be far more convenient than to put into Nagasaki. I therefore reject Nagasaki. If you will designate five or six ports in the south-east of Japan, our ships will not fail to put in at these places only, and they will not enter other harbors, which would be to your advantage."

The Lord Rector : " We cannot set aside a number of places, as you wish ; but if Nagasaki is so inconvenient a place, we can select some other suitable harbor in its stead."

Perry : " It would be very inconvenient to have only one harbor. Please set aside three or four at least, one of them to be Kanagawa."

The Lord Rector : " We cannot set aside Kanagawa, but we will surely select a suitable port in the south-east."

Perry : " What harbor will that be ? "

The Lord Rector : " As this is a new proposal, I cannot reply without making a thorough investigation."

Perry : " It will of course take time if you make a thorough investigation, but the present question, which merely concerns the selection of one of the many harbors of Japan, is not one that requires any delay. I have the power as plenipotentiary to decide these matters in my own discretion, and I cannot believe that you, who are also here as a plenipotentiary, are unable to give an immediate reply to such a question. Please give me an answer at once."

The Lord Rector : " You are most unreasonable in your statements. If you desire any particular harbor so earnestly, you should have mentioned its name. If the letter which you presented last year had mentioned the name of that place which you wished, we would have given it consideration ; but you only asked for the opening of a port in the south without indicating the place in any way, and we, therefore, selected Nagasaki and thought the matter settled. If you wish to have some port set aside with such great haste, why did you not mention its name in the letter ? Please explain this to me."

Perry : " As last year's letter did not mention the name of any port, I shall not consider this to be of immediate moment and shall wait two or three days ; but please make your investigations and answer as soon as possible."

The Lord Rector : " Then, I shall answer when we meet on the 26th."

Perry : " That will be agreeable to me." (It then being the seventh hour, they all withdrew).

During the forenoon, Egawa Tarozyemon, leading some 60 of his followers who were prepared to die, arrived at Kanagawa, and refused, when ordered, to guard the Reception Hall, saying that the Reception Hall was being satisfactorily guarded by the retainers of Ogasawara and Masuda, and that the negotiations were being carried on amicably, but that if anything untoward should break out in the Reception

Hall, they would guard the Commissioners at the risk of their lives until the arrival of the Commissioners' retainers. In view of the fact, however, that the foreigners in such a contingency would immediately make their way to Yedo and make war, it seemed necessary to have in Yedo as large a number as possible of such resolute men in order that they might display their loyalty and valor at the feet of the Shogun, and the offer was respectfully declined. (Egawa Tarozayemon brought with him an instruction to the effect that he and his subordinates should be instructed in the operation of the steam engine and telegraph brought as presents, the instruction apparently having been issued at the instance of a governor of the Board of Finance and Audit, who may possibly have misunderstood Egawa).

20th.—The selection of a port being attended by great difficulties, because of the complications that would rise later, and being impracticable without previous consultation with the Shogunate, the Lord Rector and Tsushima-no-kami said that they would be obliged to leave tomorrow for Yedo.

21st.—At one half after the eighth hour, this being at daybreak, the Lord Rector and Tsushima-no-kami left the Kanagawa post house for Yedo, and repairing at once to the Palace, they returned at dark to their respective mansions. They were instructed to appear tomorrow also at the Palace, so they will return to their mansions. Today a ship called the *Supply* entered Kanagawa, making in all nine ships.

22nd.—They went today to the Palace and requested to be acquainted with the Shogun's views. They also saw the old Prince of Mito. The two officials submitted their reports.

23rd.—The Lord Rector and Tsushima-no-kami left Yedo early in the morning and arrived at the Kanagawa post house at the ninth hour.

24th.—Interpreters and other officials were sent to the Envoy's ship to say that the Lord Rector and the other commissioners would be at Yokohama on the second day following, the 26th, and to ask if it would be convenient for Perry to go ashore. Perry sent word that he would go ashore on the 26th.

Today an American landed at Kanagawa, and after viewing the various temples said that he wished to go to Yedo. He reached the Roku-go River, and there being no ferry boat, it was reported that he had made his way to Daishi Kawara. An interpreter was at once sent out to the warship to remonstrate. Adams reported the facts to Perry, who became very angry and ordered the officer to be recalled at once. Four cannon shots were fired, this being a signal, it seems, for men to assemble.

Adams wrote a note which he handed to the interpreter. This was taken immediately to Daishi Kawara and shown to the foreigner there, who became very pale and seemed to be in great terror. He returned at once to Kanagawa, where he was told that he would be taken out to Perry's ship. He appeared to be very anxious and said that if he were taken to Perry's ship he would be sentenced to death; and he asked with tears that he be taken to Buchanan's ship. The police officers and interpreters took him out to Buchanan's ship. Perry has sent word that he has strictly ordered that such an incident should not happen again, and that we may be certain that it will not occur again.

25th.—Police officers and interpreters were sent out to the Envoy's ship with the message that presents would be given tomorrow at Yokohama. Perry sent back his thanks.

26th.—The *Susquehanna* sailed. Its commander's name is Buchanan. The Lord Rector and the other commissioners went to Yokohama at the fifth hour, and at the ninth hour Perry, Adams and about 300 men came ashore. The presents from the Shogun and from the Commissioners individually were displayed in the Reception Hall. The Lord Rector read out the lists of presents, handing each sheet as he finished reading it to the Envoy.

Perry: "What port have you selected as the place where, as agreed the other day, fuel, water, provisions and coal will be supplied?"

The Lord Rector: "The ports we have selected for supplying fuel, water, provisions and coal, are Shimoda, in Idzu Province, in the south, and Hakodate, in the district of Matsumae, in the north. Hereafter, whenever your ships are in need of supplies, they may enter these two ports."

Perry: "I have heard that the harbor of Hakodate is very good, but I know nothing of Shimoda, and I can make no reply until the harbor of Shimoda has been examined. I wish to send some of my officers to look over that harbor."

The Lord Rector: "That most surely is a reasonable request. As we have no objection to your inspection of Shimoda, please send your men there as soon as possible."

Perry: "I shall, then, send two ships. You will, of course, allow my officers to go ashore at Shimoda, to examine the shore and to take soundings?"

The Lord Rector: "That is agreeable."

Among the presents given today, there, there were 200 bales of rice, and each of the 75 wrestlers brought there carried two bales a distance of half a furlong and did tricks with these bales of rice, to the great ad-

miration of Perry, Adams and all the other foreigners. They then went through their practices in wrestling, after which a large number of foreigners did military exercises. In the evening, they all withdrew.

27th.—When the Lord Rector and the other Commissioners were met on the warships, they were told that the Americans wished to invite them to a banquet. They replied that they would all come on the second day following, the 29th. (Two warships sailed for Shimoda, their names being *Vandalia* and *Southampton*).

28th.—A message was received from the warship to ask if our commissioners and officials were going out tomorrow and, if so, how many officials of high rank and low rank would be present, and also to say that Adams would come ashore and meet them at the Kanagawa post house. We replied that we did not wish Adams to come ashore and that the number of officials going out would be ascertained.

29th.—The Lord Rector and the other Commissioners went out to the fleet at the eighth hour. They first went to the *Macedonian*, and after observing military exercises proceeded to the *Powhatan*, where they dined. They returned at half after the seventh hour.

30th.—The Lord Rector, Tsushima-no-kami and the other Commissioners went to Yokohama, and at half after the fourth hour Perry, Adams and about 20 men came ashore. (Today the foreigners did not bring their rifles and pistols, and appeared to be without apprehension).

The Lord Rector: "Thank you for the hospitality which you extended yesterday to so many of us when we went to your ship."

Perry: "I must apologize for the very inadequate way in which we entertained you yesterday, when you were good enough to come. As Shimoda is satisfactory, please select Shimoda to be the harbor in the south."

The Lord Rector: "We will supply fuel, water and provisions at Shimoda."

Perry: "I would be grateful if you will supply at Shimoda fuel, water, provisions and coal. There is another matter. As we would find objectionable the irksome treatment which you mete out to Hollanders going to Nagasaki, you will of course allow our people to go ashore."

The Lord Rector: "We cannot agree to allow your people to go ashore."

Perry: "How far may our people walk when they go ashore? In my opinion, it would be well to allow them to walk about freely in all directions within a distance of ten *ri* from Shimoda Harbor."

The Lord Rector: "That is impossible. There should be no objec-

tion to their walking about within the limits of the town of Shimoda, but we cannot agree to ten *ri*."

Perry: "To be allowed to walk about freely within the confines of the town would be irksome and most objectionable. I wished to have it fixed at ten *ri*."

The Lord Rector: "Is it not enough that your ships are to be supplied with fuel, water and provisions, and to be helped when in distress? What profit or benefit can come from allowing your people to walk great distances?"

Perry: "From this time on, our ships will come in large numbers. Should our people, upon going ashore, be confined inside narrow limits, it is quite possible that there may be some who will pass beyond the fixed limits, with the result that incidents will arise and cause dissension and confusion. If you now fix wide limits, there will be few who will walk great distances and there will be no trouble from the limits being overstepped; so peace will be preserved forever. As your nation will become, therefore, a country maintaining friendly relations with our country, none of my countrymen will commit any unlawful act while passing through the villages in the neighborhood of Shimoda. If you reject my proposal, I can only believe that you are not dealing frankly with me; and I shall reject Shimoda and ask that our ships be allowed hereafter to put in somewhere in the vicinity of Yokohama. If you refuse this, I shall be obliged to go to Yedo."

The Lord Rector: "I cannot reply immediately to this proposal, but I shall give it careful thought and answer you tomorrow."

Perry: "What we have arranged is not commerce, but the fact that our ships will hereafter come to Japan makes it necessary for us to send an official to Shimoda. The reason is that when Americans and Japanese enter into disputes, you will have much difficulty in settling them, thus causing you much trouble; but if an official be appointed he will, if you consult with him, take matters under his control and arrange them to the advantage and convenience of both sides. In all other foreign countries an official is sent to each place where there is commerce, and I wish to do the same thing here."

The Lord Rector: "I can readily see that unless there should be such an official in places where there is commerce, great inconvenience would result; but when simply fuel, water and provisions are to be supplied, it would seem as though an arrangement of this sort might be dispensed with. Furthermore, no foreigners but Chinese and Hollanders may remain in our country."

Perry : " We shall be very apprehensive unless you agree to a person being stationed here. Please agree to this proposal."

The Lord Rector : " I cannot agree, as the government would never consent to it."

Perry : " Then let us leave matters as they were, but an official will be sent if you have any difficulty. An envoy should be here some 18 months hence, and please discuss this matter with him."

The Lord Rector : " Let us then discuss this question 18 months hence. We cannot open the port of Shimoda immediately, as first the governors of Shimoda must be appointed and given time to take up their residence there. In view of these circumstances, the port of Shimoda will be opened in 18 months."

Perry : It is to be hoped that Shimoda may be opened soon, but I realize that the appointment of officials and their removal to Shimoda will require some time. Eighteen months is, however, too long, and I wish you to open the port before the end of the year."

The Lord Rector : " It will be opened by the third month of next year."

Perry : " I hope that it will be opened by the third month."

Perry brought with him a draft of the treaty, which, after discussion, was added to and corrected and virtually agreed upon.

Third month, 1st day. The censor Hirayama Kenjiro and police officers were sent out to the warship to say that consideration had again been given to the proposal concerning landing at Shimoda and the extent of the area around Shimoda in which walking would be allowed; that the proposal was rejected, but that after further and repeated discussions it was decided that the area should extend seven *ri* in all directions from the island of Inubashiri, which lies in the center of the harbor of Shimoda. (This matter was allowed to pass, as there are prospects of exercising restrictions in some way later at Shimoda).

22nd.—Hirayama Kenjiro and others were sent out to the warship and were shown a draft of the treaty. They were asked to agree to the placing of the Rector's and Tsushima-no-kami's seals on the same line with Perry's signature, as this would conform to the practice of all countries; but they replied that if this were the custom of foreign countries, Japan has its own customs, and that the seals should be affixed on different sheets and then exchanged. Despite repeated arguments, they said that unless it were done in accordance with Japanese law the treaty would not be entered into; and it was finally arranged that each party should sign and seal separate copies, which were to be exchanged, and that things

should be done according to our law. The treaty will be exchanged at the meeting tomorrow.

Perry said that, although it was agreed at the meeting of the 30th that Shimoda should be opened by the third month of next year, the treaty had been drawn up to read that it should be opened immediately upon the conclusion of the treaty. He asked that our version of the draft be made to read the same way. He was asked to explain the reason, as it conflicted with the agreement made on the 30th and could not, therefore, be accepted; but Perry then said that unless the treaty provided for an immediate opening of the port he would be placed in an embarrassing position before his own government, and asked that the treaty be made to read in this manner. The Lord Rector replied that if Perry sent him a letter, stating that the port should be opened by the third month of the following year even though the treaty provided that it should be opened at once, he would agree to the change and to the insertion of the word "immediately." Perry now sent him a letter consenting to the opening of the port by the third month of the following year.

3rd.—At the fifth hour, the Lord Rector, Tsushima-no-kami and the other commissioners proceeded to Yokohama, and at the 9th hour Perry, with about 30 others, came ashore. Copies of the Treaty in Japanese, Chinese and Dutch were exchanged.

Perry: "It is a source of great gratification that amity has been established between our two countries."

The Lord Rector: "I am also of this sentiment."

Perry: "From an increasing knowledge of your laws, I realize that they are exceedingly severe, but we came without knowing this and apologize for the trouble we may have caused. Now that friendship has been established between our two countries, we will be prepared at any time to help you in every way possible with warships and guns should you engage in war along your coast with any foreign country."

The Lord Rector: "You are very kind."

Perry: "We have agreed that the port of Shimoda is to be opened by next third month, but upon further reflection, I remembered that I will not come then but someone else. I wish to go to Shimoda at once and discuss with you all, gentlemen, the arrangements for the supply of fuel, water, provisions, and so forth, at Shimoda, because if there should be any misunderstanding upon the arrival of my successor over this matter, it would not be well for both sides. It will cause you great trouble, but I hope that you will proceed to Shimoda and confer with me there. My ships do not need any fuel, water, provisions or coal, but I should be glad

to receive something, so that the occasion can be used in the future as an example."

The Lord Rector: "That seems to be an excellent plan. As it is quite possible that we may be unable to confer with your successor next year or that misunderstandings may arise, we shall go to Shimoda when you go and discuss with you there the details of the arrangement."

Perry: "Will you leave, then, at once for Shimoda?"

The Lord Rector: "We cannot go at once. We cannot go until governors have been appointed to that place, or not before 50 days."

Perry: "If you will be there in 50 days, I shall go in the meantime to Hakodate, as I wish to see its harbor."

The Lord Rector: "When you go to Hakodate, it will be sufficient if you examine only the harbor."

Perry: "Very well; I shall only examine the harbor."

The Lord Rector: "When will you arrive at Shimoda from Hakodate?"

Perry: "I shall be at Shimoda on the 11th, 12th or 13th of the fifth month, and trust that you will have arrived."

The Lord Rector: "Very well. As there will be so little time, we shall be unable to have provisions and coal on hand at Shimoda."

Perry: "I realize that the lack of time will prevent you from providing such stores, and I shall be satisfied to procure only those articles that are produced locally. I should like to have a small quantity of coal in order to test its quality."

The Lord Rector: "We can comply, in that case. We shall meet and confer with you after the 10th day of the fifth month."

Perry: "To evidence our intention never to oppose your country, I wish to present something to the Lord Rector." So saying he produced a parcel, which being opened contained a large American flag. This is said to be of the kind flown by admirals. (This flag, upon the Lord Rector's return to Yedo, was submitted to the Grand Councillors and preserved in the Palace in the offices of the Shogunate). To Tsushima-no-kami, Mimasaku-no-kami, Udono and Mantaro, he presented maps of his country. After conversing with the different commissioners, he left.

4th.—Perry sent a letter to the Lord Rector. Today, Portman asked Einosuke to give him the brush with which the commissioners signed the treaty yesterday, saying that when he returned to his country he would preserve it as a precious relic. As he made this request in a very earnest manner, a Japanese brush was given him, whereupon he danced about and evinced great joy. At this time, the reason for this was not understood, but upon further reflection it was recalled that when copies of the

treaty were exchanged yesterday, Perry signed and sealed the treaty before our eyes and asked that we should also sign and seal the treaty before his eyes. We replied that we did not do things in our country in this fashion and that we would sign and seal the treaty in the retiring room and not before him. We therefore assume that Portman wished to have the brush as proof, upon their return to their own country, that we had actually signed the treaty.

5th.—Perry presented Ido Tsushima-no-kami and Izawa Mimasaku-no-kami with a large rifle weighing 25 pounds, saying that they should use it in case of emergency and that he would come from his own country to take their part. He explained that he would like to present them each with such a rifle, but that having been brought from America as a part of the ship's equipment it would be very inconvenient if there should not be enough of these rifles, and that, therefore, he could give them both but one rifle. Perry also said that the two countries having established friendship between themselves, there should be no lack of frankness. The President, he said, had instructed him to go to Yedo and hold negotiations there, and therefore he wished to go at least once to Yedo ; it is the custom in all countries for a foreign envoy to go to the capital of the country and to be received in audience by the ruler ; but in view of the Japanese laws he realized that this would be difficult. He wished, however, to go to Yedo in obedience to his orders. He assured us that having met the commissioners here he would not raise any difficulties after his arrival in Yedo and that he would not, of course, do anything unlawful, so that we had no cause for alarm.

The Lord Rector replied that no foreigners but Hollanders were allowed to enter our capital ; that, the negotiations having been completed, the commissioners would be greatly embarrassed before the Government if he were now to go to Yedo, and that for these reasons he could not agree to this proposal.

Perry said that though the commissioners might be embarrassed before their government he would be embarrassed before his own government if he did not go. However, he added that as he would cause the commissioners such difficulty he would not go to Yedo, but that Yedo Bay being contiguous to the high seas, he would enter it and observe Yedo from his ship. He thought that there could be no objection to this.

The Lord Rector objected, on the ground that Yedo Bay falls within the limits of Yedo. "If our two countries are to maintain friendly relations, you should do nothing to cause us annoyance ; this is essential if we are not to be apprehensive of each other. As our laws must also be

observed, you should refrain from doing this thing."

Perry: "If my entering Yedo Bay will cause you such great embarrassment, I shall not do so, but it is possible that I may make a brief turn into it when I leave. Kanagawa being close at hand, I wish to land at the post house and make a short inspection. Is this agreeable?"

The Lord Rector answered that there was no objection whatever to this, but it would entail a great deal of trouble and asked him to abandon this plan.

Perry: "In that case, I shall abandon this plan also. I have landed several times at Yokohama, and I wish to come ashore once more and walk about in that vicinity."

The Lord Rector: "As you have already come ashore here several times, there is no objection to your walking about in this vicinity whenever you find it convenient."

Perry: "On some clear day, I shall come ashore and be glad to have you accompany me."

The Lord Rector: "Very well."

6th.—There being a strong wind, no one was sent out to the warships.

7th.—At half after the fifth hour, the warship *Saratoga* fired a salute and sailed, carrying Adams home.

8th.—Perry sent word that if tomorrow be a fair day he would go ashore at Yokohama.

9th.—Today being a perfectly clear day, Perry, with four others, came ashore, and accompanied by censors and police officers walked to a point about one *ri* from Yokohama. He appeared to be in excellent spirits. He returned to his ship in the evening.

10th.—A despatch from the Shogunate received today instructed the Lord Rector and Tsushima-no-kami to return to Yedo tomorrow.

11th.—At half after the fourth hour, the Lord Rector and Tsushima-no-kami left Kanagawa for Yedo.

12th.—The foreigners sent Tsushima-no-kami and Mimasaku-no-kami a swivel gun. Williams fired the gun and instructed the Uraga police officers in its manipulation and care.

13th.—All the seven American warships being about to leave, the censor Hirayama Kenjiro, the police officer Aihara Isaburo, the interpreter Moriyama Einosuke, and others went out to Perry's ship to bid him farewell. As Perry had said that he would, when leaving, make a brief turn into Yedo Bay, they brought word from Mimasaku-no-kami and Udonno that everyone was apprehensive and that they earnestly desired him not to enter Yedo Bay. Perry told Kenjiro that he was

about to sail and would make a turn into Yedo Bay, and that the officials should remain on board and see for themselves that he would do nothing unlawful. Kenjiro tried in various ways to deter Perry, but he would not listen. Everyone was greatly concerned. Then two of the steamers gradually steamed towards Yedo. No salutes were fired at Kanagawa, and it was feared that, should the warships fire salutes when they entered Yedo Bay, great alarm would be created in the Capital. Einosuke was determined, if he saw signs of a salute about to be fired, he would place himself before the cannon's mouth and so sacrifice his life. The two steamers arrived off Daishi Kawara and stopped when the Haneda Light was visible in the distance. Perry summoned Einosuke and asked if the place where a lighthouse could be seen were Yedo. Einosuke replied that it was and that Japanese sailing ships whose masts could be seen ahead were already in Yedo Bay; whereupon Perry called some of his officers and drawing out a telescope looked through it. "How clearly," he said, "Yedo can be seen!" When his officers had also looked through the telescope, he said, "Having now seen Yedo, let us go," and he had the ship turned towards the south. He then said to Einosuke that the officials could now leave. How great had been their anxiety! But he had been ordered by his government and he had no choice. If it had been entirely left to his discretion, he would have done nothing to cause the commissioners any embarrassment, but he was accompanied by many men, and as there were some who did not agree with him he had no choice but to do what he did. However, having shown Yedo to all, no one could say upon their return that they had not seen Yedo; and he was therefore without any concern. He was grateful to all of us and asked that his regards be conveyed to the Lord Rector and the other commissioners. He was very polite when making his farewells. Kenjiro and the other officials all left, and the ships that day withdrew to Koshiba.

Two Stories by Ichiyo

TRANSLATED BY W. M. BICKERTON

INTRODUCTION

Natsuko Higuchi, better known by her pen-name of Higuchi Ichiyo, or simply Ichiyo, was born on March 25th, 1872. After finishing the primary school, she went to various teachers to learn the writing of poetry, but her genius was for prose. Her father who was a poor official in the employ of the Tokyo Municipality died when she was seventeen, leaving the little household, consisting of the mother and Ichiyo and her younger sister, to support itself. At twenty Ichiyo began writing short stories, and during the four odd years from then until her death of tuberculosis on November 23rd, 1896, she published a total of twenty-five stories, the last three or four of which brought her a fame which placed her in the front rank of the writers of the Meiji Era.

The voice of woman, which, in the genius of Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shonagon, made itself heard with such richness in the delicate, callous court civilization of the Heian period, was to be silenced by nearly a thousand years of feudalism, and when it again becomes articulate in Ichiyo, how different is the music! Her characters are drawn mostly from the poorer classes which, before she led the way, were not considered worthy of depicting. She writes of waifs and strays in the youth of their lives of hopelessness, and of women still economically enslaved, but the fact that she could write at all was because she lived in the early stages of capitalism, when elementary education had become general.

Her extremely elliptical and impressionistic style, the shortness of her stories, and her cynical yet minute observation owe much to the Genroku novelist, Saikaku, of whose stories she once remarked, "With these beside me I feel strong."

Ichiyo's stories are realistic in the sense that the materials are got by direct observation; they are psychological in the sense that the interest is always in character, and that there are no artificially-constructed plots; they are feminine in the tender sympathy they display for women and children, and in the shadowiness of the male characters. The strangest thing about them is the lack of direct Western influence at a time when others were imitating, without understanding, to a preposterous degree, Western models. But, as in keeping with the classical realistic tradition of Mura-

saki and Saikaku, she drew from life, her stories seem more modern to present-day readers than to those of the writers who wilfully imitated the West.

Among her stories may be mentioned:—

Yamizakura, Umorigi, Yuki no Hi (A Snowy Day), Hanagomori, Yamiyo, Yukukumo, Noki Moru Tsuki (The Moon among the Roofs), Takekurabe (They Compare Heights), Nigorie (The Muddied Stream), Jusanya (The Thirteenth Night), Warekara, Wakaremichi (The Parting of the Ways).

“Wakaremichi,” of which a complete translation is given here, and “Takekurabe,” which is given in a condensed form, are both works of her maturity, the fruits of her observation during the ten months from July 1893, when she kept a small shop at Daionji-mae, a name which, as she herself says in one story, “has a religious ring, but for all that, is a street in the gay quarters as any inhabitant will tell you.” Her shop was, in fact, just at the side of the Yoshiwara, and her mother and sister took in sewing from the quarters—the gorgeous kimono of the prostitute girls—and that is how she knew the details of the life of the great houses so well.

The character of the little apprentice, Kichizo in “Wakaremichi” was taken from a boy who came frequently to the Higuchi house. This story was almost her last work, being written in December 1895, just before she became ill. In spite of being marred in places by a too sentimental display of pity, it shows her impressionism well. Especially interesting is the enigmatic nature of the relation between the girl and the boy.

“Takekurabe” is unique in Japanese literature, in so far as all the chief characters are children. It is the longest of her stories, fifty pages, and her acknowledged masterpiece. It was published serially in one magazine in 1895, and because of its great popularity, soon republished in a second. It is an accurate picture of children growing up in the special atmosphere of the licensed quarter. They are all premature in their development. “The boys are cheeky even at seven or eight, and when finally they reach the age of fifteen, with a towel flung jauntily over their shoulders, humming a lewd tune, their prematurity is appalling.”

The sense of hovering tragedy, of the unhappy fate in store for all the children as they grow up, of the shades of the prison-house beginning to close, is given from the very beginning, but it is only at the last it lowers down on them

“with a weight

Heavy as frost, and deep almost as life.”

Yet just as in Wordsworth’s poem, the children vie with each other in

growing taller, and this, of course, is the significance of the title.

In the story the children all gather at the stationer's shop, and actually such a shop did exist, but it was not there the original children gathered, but at Ichiyo's shop, to spend their sen buying candies, and as Ichiyo and her business-like sister both liked children, they were made welcome. (From a conversation I had with Mr. Hirata, who was one of the first to appreciate her, and one of her earliest friends, I obtained a very vivid picture of Ichiyo, the already-famous writer, riding in horse-cars from Asakusa to the market in Kanda, with a tin strapped on her back, to buy those same candies.)

She loved also to describe the surging life of Tokyo's streets, vividly and quite unmorally, and that is why she put the clear images of the five children on to a mosaic of festival throngs. But it was on the portrait of Midori that she lavished all her skill; Midori, the tomboy, the Mignon-like spirit, doomed to become a prostitute; Midori, so different from Japanese girls as they are generally pictured.

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

I

"Are you in, O-Kyo-san" he called, coming outside the window shutters and making a rattling noise as he tapped on the woodwork.

"Who's there? I've gone to bed, so please come again to-morrow," she answered untruthfully.

"It doesn't matter if you're in bed. Please get up and open the door for me. It's Kichi from the umbrella-shop; it's me, I tell you," he said a little louder.

"He's a bother, that boy. What's he come to say, late like this? To get some more cakes out of me?" she said to herself, smilingly. "I'll open it now. Be patient for a minute."

The girl, who, saying this, stuck her needle in the sewing she was at and stood up, would be something over twenty, and had a certain air about her. As it was the rush hour, her long hair had just been knotted up. Her yellow striped apron was a little longer than is usual and she had on a worn silk wrapper. Quickly she stepped down to the porch and opened the shutters across the grill.

The boy, who, saying "Sorry to bother you," made his way straight inside, was known by the nickname of "the dwarf" and was the wild boy of that district, Kichi the umbrella-shop's unmanageable apprentice. He was sixteen but at first glance looked a year or two younger, his figure

was so slim and his face was so small. His expression was firm and intelligent, but as he was so very small in height he was derided by people and given that nickname.

"Excuse me," he said and went directly over to the brazier.

"There's not enough fire to toast cakes. Go and bring some of the used charcoal from the pot in the kitchen. You can toast and eat as much as you like. I must stay up all night and finish this because it's for the master of the pawnbroker's on the corner to wear on his New Year calls," she said, taking up her needle.

Kichi gave a grunt. "It's wasted on a bald-headed old chap like that. What do you say if I wear it for the first time?"

"Don't talk nonsense. Isn't there a saying that if you put on other people's new clothes you'll never get on in the world? You *must* grow taller than you are now, and you mustn't do things like that in other people's houses," she warned him.

"Me, I don't ask to get on in the world and so that's my advantage that I can put on other people's clothes or anything. Once you said, didn't you, that when your luck turned, you'd make me a silk kimono? Will you honestly make it for me?" he asked seriously.

"If I ever am able to make it for you, it will be because some good fortune has come to me and so of course I'll gladly make it. But look at me. I'm like this, in the position of taking in people's sewing, aren't I? Goodness, such a promise is like a dream," she laughed.

"That's all right. While you're not able to, I won't ask you to make it. It's only when your luck turns."

"Well, then, I hope you're contented to let it be that kind of promise."

"It wouldn't look funny even for a fellow like me to wear a complete outfit of silk clothes, but still . . ." and he smiled a lonely smile.

"In that case, Kitchan, when you succeed in the world, will you do the same for me. I'd like to make that a bargain too."

"That's no good. Because whatever happens I'm not going to get on in the world."

"Why? why?"

"No special reason; but if someone came and grabbed me by the arm and pulled me up, I'd want to stay here like I am. Varnishing in an umbrella-shop is the best job for me because anyhow I guess I came into the world with these clothes on my back. When I go out to buy lacquer and diddle them out of the change and then have a shot at the shooting gallery and hit the bull, that's luck. You say that you used to be a fine lady and soon good fortune will come driving to meet you in a carriage

—but I don't mean to be hinting that you're going to become someone's mistress—don't take the wrong meaning from what I say, and get angry," he said bemoaning his fate as he played with the embers.

"It's no carriage but poverty that will come for me I expect, because there are so many worries surging up inside me," said O-Kyo resting on her measuring stick and turning round to gaze at Kichi's face.

Then as usual he brought out the charcoal from the kitchen. "Aren't you having any?" he asked.

"No," she said, shaking her head.

"Then I'll have a good feed all by myself, eh? Honestly the mean crowd at home grumble and growl at me the whole time. They don't know how to treat anyone. The old lady who died wasn't like that, but these now, taking them one by one, are no good to me. O-Kyo-san, do you like Hanji-san in our shop? Isn't he flash, and doesn't he think he's just it? He's the master's son but somehow I can't think of him as my master. Dozens of times I've beaten him in fights; it was good fun." As he talked he laid the cake on the metal toaster. "Oh, oh, it's hot," he said, blowing the tips of his fingers.

"I wonder why it is that I can't think of you as just an outsider? O-Kyo-san, didn't you have a younger brother?" he asked.

"No, my mother only had one child, and so it's impossible for me ever to have had a younger brother or a younger sister," she answered.

"Is that so? Then it's nothing, I suppose, but if someone like you appeared from somewhere and said she was my real sister, wouldn't I be glad! I'd throw my arms round her and hug her, and after that, even if I died straight away I'd be happy. Honestly I wonder if I was born in the fork of a tree? I've never met anybody who looked like a real relative and so what I've thought over and over again is, if all my life I'm not going to meet anyone then it would be easier for me to die now, that's what I think. And yet I'm always hoping for something, that's the funny part about it; it's mighty queer this dreaming, or whatever you call it. Always when any one says a kind word to me, they seem like my mother or my father or sister and brother. Perhaps I'll keep on living a bit longer. If I live another year perhaps some one will tell me the truth, and then I'd be happy, wouldn't I? It's not much fun varnishing but I suppose there are other queer fish in the world like me, aren't there? O-Kyo-san, I tell you I haven't the faintest notion who my mother or who my father was. Are some children born without parents? It's all mighty strange to me." Dusting the toasted cake with both hands, he repeated his usual words of hopelessness.

"Haven't you some brocade charm with a crest on it about you that would identify you? You'd expect there to be some sort of clue, wouldn't you?" She said but he contradicted her.

"What! it's not likely I'd have anything so lucky as that. The other boys all sneer at me saying that when I was born I was thrown away by a bridge, and may be it's true. Then I'm a beggar's child. Perhaps my mother and my father were both beggars. And those fellows who go along the front street dressed in rags are some of my relations. And that lame and blind old woman who comes regularly to beg every morning will turn out to be something or other to me. Because, as you know already, without me telling you, before I was apprenticed to the umbrella-shop I used to go round with the strolling players, wearing a lion mask," he said dejectedly.

"O-Kyo-san, if I was really a beggar's son you wouldn't be kind to me as you have been up till now, eh?" he turned round and looked at her. "You wouldn't, would you?" he added.

"Don't talk nonsense. I don't know whose child you are, nor what class your people belonged to. Whatever they were I wouldn't say I either liked or disliked it. You're talking a lot of miserable things, more than you usually do, but if I were in your place I wouldn't care a scrap if they'd been paupers or beggars. Most likely you've got no parents; and brothers and sisters, I wonder? But you set out to get on in the world, all by yourself. I know you can. Why do you talk in that spineless way?" she said to encourage him.

"No matter what you say, I'm no good. I don't expect ever to do anything," he answered, bending his head so that she could not see his face.

II

The former mistress of the umbrella shop, the large-hearted O-Matsu, who had made a fortune from nothing, was a fat old lady like a woman wrestler. One winter's day six years before when she was returning from a visit to a temple she had picked up and brought home this child of a strolling player. She told him that when his master started to make a fuss, there was plenty of time to worry, and she repeated to her people how he had told her pitifully that his bad-tempered companions had left him when he couldn't walk any further because his foot was sore. She asked him if he intended going back to such a place. There was nothing at all to be afraid of, so he had better stay in her house. There was no need to worry about anything any more. Why, couldn't she easily spread a

board in the kitchen and feed two or three like him without noticing it? Even with those fellows you've taken out a bond with there were some who'd elope with your daughter or other mean ones who'd steal your money. It all depended on the person. In short she would give him a trial. She couldn't tell whether he'd be any use or not without trying him. If he didn't want to go back to Shiname he could decide to make his home here until he died, but he must work as hard as he could. She abjured him to set to seriously. After that she often urged him on, calling him by his name, and people who now watch his skill at oiling umbrellas, humming some tune as he does the work of three men, praise his late mistress, saying "She had good judgment all right."

His benefactress has been dead for two years and he did not get on well with the present master nor his wife nor his son, Hanji, but he had decided to stay here all his life and, even if he disliked it, where else could he go? Maybe his growth was arrested by his quick temper, but it was galling to have people always disparaging him and calling out "Dwarf, dwarf!"

"Kichi, you must have eaten flesh on the anniversary of your parent's death. You cursed little squib, twisting and turning!" said his friends with their unwiped noses, getting their revenge for his superior skill. He had the courage to knock them down with his fists, but to tell the truth, as he didn't know on what day his parents had died and consequently what day was to be a fast day, in his helplessness, he hid himself behind the umbrellas out to dry, lying down with the ground for a pillow, and in sadness swallowed the tears that welled up.

Throughout the four seasons, there he was, waving his arms in his narrow-sleeved black-striped kimono, as he oiled the umbrellas.

"He's like a will-o'-the-wisp," said the folks around, afraid of him and his wildness, which was due to the excess of his heavy heartedness with no one to comfort him. When temporarily he found someone who would speak gently to him he would cling on to them and catch hold of them as if he never wanted to let them go.

O-Kyo, the seamstress, was a girl who had come to live in the back street this spring, and was clever at all things and got on well with all the people in the tenement. As the master of the umbrella shop was her landlord, she was extra-specially nice to all the people there.

"If any of your apprentices get their clothes torn or anything, let them fetch them to me. There's so many of you here, I expect the mistress has little time to pick up a needle. But it's my regular work to be craning down with paper spread all over the matting, so such jobs are a mere

nothing for me. As I'm living alone with no one to talk to day and night I'm lonely, so when you are free please come round and see me. I'm a very rollicking kind of person and so I'm very fond of wild boys like Kitchan. When you're in a bad temper and feeling like thrashing the rice dealer's white dog, you'd better come and help me with the kimono I've got to wash and turn. You can beat them on the board with the mallet to bring out the shine. Then you won't be hated by people, and you'll be helping me a great deal. It will cut both ways," she would say, half-jokingly, always friendly.

The other workmen teased him with his constant going to her house and his eternal "O-Kyo-san, O-Kyo-san," and said, "He's just in the opposite case from the lover of the draper's daughter.⁽¹⁾ In the Katsuragawa play it ought to be sung "Choemon on O-Han's back." I wonder will he come out perched on the back of her sash. He'd make a good farce, this chap."

"If you think you're a man, do what I do. I'm pretty sure there's no one but me who knows exactly how many and what kind of cakes the seamstress got in her cake-tin, stored away in the back of her cupboard. The bald-headed old pawnbroker is crazy over O-Kyo-san and when he brings her work, he comes in and bothers her with all sorts of questions about this and that and sends her aprons and collars and sashes, to get in her good books, but she's never so much as even given him a pleasant bow. But for me, in the evening, or in the middle of the night, if I just say 'Kichi of the umbrella-shop has come' she will open the grill just as she is, in her nightgown and say 'You haven't been to see me all day, have you? Is anything the matter? I was worried about you,' and she takes my hand and pulls me in. There isn't anyone except me that she'd say that to. I'm sorry to say it, but the big tree is good for nothing and the little sapling is made much of," he said, talking big while they punched him hard on the back, and shouted, "This fellow" and he answered with a solemn face "Thank you." If he had been taller people would not have suffered his jokes, but dismissing them as the airs of the dwarf, they regarded him as a good laughing-stock and something to talk about when they had a spell for a smoke.

III

On the night of December 30th, Kichi having been to a customer's

(1) In the Kabuki drama "Katsuragawa Renri no Shigarami" Choemon, a man of 40 runs away with O-Han, the 16-year-old daughter of a draper, and they commit double suicide by him jumping into the river with her on his back. In the case of Kichizo and O-Kyo the ages are reversed.

house at Sakaue to apologize for the late delivery of an order, was going home, his hands in his breast, hurrying. Anything his toes happened to touch, he would kick with enjoyment and as it rolled and bowled to the left or the right he would chase it, and when he kicked it into the big ditch, he laughed loudly to himself; there was no one to hear him, but the moon in the sky seemed to be shining white for him, as he, whose body did not know what cold was, went merrily along. While he was planning in his mind to go and tap at her window, he turned into the side street and then suddenly some one rushed out after him, and placed her two hands over his eyes and gave a stifled laugh. "Who is it, who is it?" he asked, feeling the fingers. "Oh, it's you, O-Kyo-san, is it? Your crooked little finger gives you away. It's no good trying to scare me," he said twisting his head round.

"You horrid boy, you guessed." She laughed. She had a veil drawn well over her face and wore a special haori. Kichizo, at her beautiful clothes, so different from her usual ones, looked her up and down. "Where have you been? Didn't you tell me that to-day and to-morrow you expected to be so busy that you wouldn't even have time to take a bite?" he said, doubts arising.

"I've been paying my New Year calls in advance," she said with pretended guilelessness.

"You're telling a lie. No one receives New Year calls on the 30th, do they? Perhaps you've been to your relative's house?" he asked.

"What do you take me for? Have I become the sort of person who goes visiting relatives. To-morrow I'm moving from the back, there. It's rather too sudden, so I dare say you're surprised, aren't you? For me too it was rather unforeseen, and I don't yet properly realise it. Anyhow please be pleased about it because it's nothing bad."

"Is it true? Is it true?" he asked in amazement.

"Isn't it a story, isn't it a joke? I wish you wouldn't say things like that to try and startle me. If you went away, all my fun would end, so please don't joke in that nasty way. You say silly things, don't you?" he said, shaking his head.

"It's not a story. It's just as you once said, 'Good Fortune has come riding in a carriage to get me, with a great to-do,' and so I can't bear it in that back place any longer. I can tell you, Kitchan, soon I'll make you that outfit of silk clothes and give you."

"That's no good. I don't want to take such things. Doesn't what you call 'Good Fortune' mean you're going off to some nasty place? Hanji was talking about something like that the day before yesterday.

He said that through the recommendation of that old man who works as a masseur, in that street off the greengrocer's, the seamstress O-Kyo-san was supposed to be going as a maid to some nobleman's house. But, he said you were far too old to be going as a maid, and there'd be no reason for you to go as a needlewoman, and that without a doubt you were going to be his mistress and would parade about with your hair done in a new style and tassels dangling from your coat. He said it wasn't likely you'd keep on being a seamstress with a face like yours. I didn't think it was true, so I said, 'It's some mistake' and we had a big fight, but now I wonder if you're not going there after all. You're going to the nobleman's house, eh?" he asked.

"For myself, I don't want to go, but I must. Kitchan, we won't be able to see each other any more, will we?" Just hearing her speak of such a possibility, he became downcast.

"How much success it means for you I don't know, but if you gave it all up, it wouldn't matter much, would it? Anyhow you're only one, so I don't see why you can't make a living with your needle. With as good fingers as you've got, why do you want to be starting nasty things like this? Don't you think it's a bit too cruel?" he said, feeling the contrast to his own purity. "Give it up, give it up, ask to be excused."

"You put me in an awkward position," said O-Kyo standing still. "But Kitchan, I've become sick of washing and pressing. 'To be kept by some man, or anything, I don't care what! I'm a good-for-nothing kind of person anyway, so it doesn't matter much. I feel I want to go through life dressed in crepe-de-Chine kimono." After having, almost without knowing, spoken out so freely, she gave a little smile.

"Anyhow let's go to my place. Walk a little faster, Kitchan."

"I don't know why, but I don't feel a bit happy. You go on ahead," he said and followed behind tramping on her long shadow on the ground in a hopeless way. Having at last passed down the lane at the side of the umbrella shop, O-Kyo stopped under her window. "Here every night you came to me, but to-morrow night I won't be able to hear your voice. Life's a miserable business, isn't it?" she sighed.

"That's your own doing," said Kichizo, discontentedly. O-Kyo went inside and lit the lamp and put the fire together.

"Kitchan, come and get warm," she called to him, but he answered, "I don't want to," and remained standing near the door post.

"But aren't you cold? You mustn't catch a cold," said O-Kyo anxiously.

"If I do, it doesn't matter, does it? Please let me alone," he answered,

looking down.

"Is there anything the matter with you? You look sort of funny. Has anything I said upset you? When you stay silent with a face like that I feel so anxious I don't know what to do."

"I can tell you there's no need to feel anxious or anything about me. I'm Kichizo of the umbrella shop. I don't want any woman taking care of me." As he spoke he leaned against the post and rubbed his back against it.

"Ah, it's no fun, it's rotten. What's the matter with me, I wonder. Different people have been kind to me just for a little while, then it's always turned out rottenly. The mistress of the umbrella shop before this one was a good old lady, and then there was O-Kine-san, the dyer's daughter with the curly hair, who made a fuss of me; but the old lady died of apoplexy and O-Kine, because she didn't want to go away and be married, jumped into the back well. And now you in your hard-heartedness are going to cast me away. Everything, everything is horrible. What is it oiling umbrellas? Though I do the work of a hundred men I don't get a single reward. From morning till night I'm called 'the dwarf.' And then even if I wait all my life will I grow any taller? They say everything comes to him who waits, but only nasty things keep pouring down on me, day after day. The day before yesterday I had a big fight with that Hanji fellow, boasting that O-Kyo-san at any rate was not so loose as to go and be some one's mistress, and now, in less than a week, I'll have to own up I was wrong, I suppose. It riles me to think that I counted you as my sister, you who lie, and deceive and are so grasping. O-Kyo-san, I'll never see you again. I must thank you for taking care of me for so long. Do you think I'll ever rely on any one again? Goodbye," he said, standing up and going over to the porch to slip into his geta.

"Oh, Kitchan, you're taking the wrong meaning. Though we part here, it doesn't mean I'm giving you up. I always think of you as a brother. To bear a grudge like that is mean." She flung her arms round him from behind and pressed him and stopped him from going.

"You are a quick-tempered boy, aren't you?" she said chidingly.

"Then you'll give up going?" he asked turning round.

"No one would ask to go to such a place, but I've made up my mind to, no matter what happens, and even though you beg me not to, I'm sorry I can't listen."

Kichi turned to her his tear-stained eyes.

"O-Kyo-san, please, for goodness' sake let go your hands."

THEY COMPARE HEIGHTS⁽¹⁾

The scene is laid in the outskirts of the gay quarters, a district of mean tenements. Some members of almost every family were employed in some capacity within the quarters while others worked at household trades such as making the lucky rakes for the Tori fair.

Though they all pray "Oh Lord, thou god of profits as thou bringest great prosperity to those who buy these rakes, to us who make them should thou send ten thousand times more," but for all that, the chances are against them and I've never heard any rumour of a millionaire coming from these parts.

Among the crowd of children playing in the street a few days before the Niwaka Shrine festival, was Shinnyo Fujimoto, the son of the chief priest of Ryugeji Temple, a boy of fourteen.

At length he must change the colour of his sleeves to black.⁽²⁾ I wonder if he feels the call? His innate gentleness his friends called sulkiness and used to play all kinds of jokes on him. Once they tied a dead cat to a string and flung it at him saying "This is your business, let's see you perform the last rites." But that was long ago. Now he is top boy of the school and there is never the least trace of contempt in their behaviour towards him.

Rather was he sought after as an ally, for the children were divided into two parties, a back-street gang and a front-street gang, whose rivalry reached its highest point at festival time. The head of the back-street gang was Chokichi, the son of the chief of the firemen, an unprepossessing, over-matured boy of fifteen, a dullard at school but with a natural shrewdness. After having taken his father's place with the iron standard at one Niwaka procession his pride became overbearing. But for all that, for two years running they had been beaten both in actual skirmishes and in the elaborateness of their festival turn-out, by the front-street gang led by Shotaro Tanaka, three years younger than Chokichi, and the very attractive grandson of an old woman usurer, "the charm which attached people to him was rare in a rich man's son." So Chokichi finally enlisted the quiet priest's son if not actually to brandish a standard, at least to give moral support by flinging back Chinese phrases when the other side taunted them in a similar manner.

Midori, whose sister was a courtesan in a house called Daikokuya, contributed lavishly to the funds of the front-street gang. She was thirteen and

(1) For great assistance with the difficulties of this story, I wish to acknowledge my thanks to Mr. Masazumi Meguro.

(2) Become a priest.

although not one of the types of beautiful women was very attractive.

She wore a kimono of a ground of persimmon shade, dyed with a large pattern of butterflies and birds and her sash, one side black satin, and the other vari-coloured crinkle pattern was tied high and she wore geta of a height it was rare to see in this neighbourhood, so that a young fellow on his way home from a night's dissipation, seeing her as she returned from her morning bath, the white line of her neck and a towel in her hand, said, "I'd like to see her three years from now."

She spoke with a slight Kishu accent which was fascinating and her open-handedness gave her quite an imperious sway over everyone.

I wonder what she will become in the end? Now she has both parents and they wink at her behaviour and never use a harsh word and the brothel-keeper's careful manner towards her is suspicious. If you enquired, she was not his adopted daughter, nor of course any relation, but when her sister was sold he came to Kishu to make the valuation and at his suggestion that they should come and stay to make a living here, the mother and father and child had donned their travelling clothes and set out. That's how it was.

Soon after the girls had laughed at her country-style clothes, and she had wept with mortification for three days, but now she was the queen of them all.

Sangoro was a tubby little fellow with an amusing face and infinite good humour in spite of his family being very poor, but he was in the awkward position of owing allegiance to both camps. He was born and bred in the back street and the temple owned the land their house stood on and Chokichi's father owned the house, but Tanaka's pawnshop was the mainstay of his father, a helpless cringing fellow known by the name of 'bowing Tetsu' who had great difficulty in keeping his family of six children out of his earnings as an unlicensed rikisha man. When the others all wore uniform kimono for the festival, Sangoro, because of his poverty, wore his ordinary one, saying in excuse that his costume hadn't been ready in time.

On the eve of the festival the back-street gang sprang a surprise raid on the front-street gang just when Shotaro was absent for his dinner, and dragged out Sangoro and beat him and kicked him.

Midori, incensed, escaped from those who were holding her back. "Here, you, what grievance have you got against Sangoro? If you want to quarrel with Shotaro, he's not run away and we're not hiding him. He's not here, is he? This is my play place. You don't

dare even put your finger in it. You see you horrid Chokichi, why are you hitting Sangoro. Ah, now you're pulling him over again. If you've got any grudge hit me. I'll fight you. Don't stop me," she cried as she wriggled free.

"What is it you, you loud-mouthed prostitute, you beggar, following in your sister's footsteps. This is good enough for you", and Chokichi, shouting this from far behind the crowd, took off his muddy zori and flung it at her. It did not miss its mark, but left Midori with a dirty blotch on her forehead. Her face blanched as she picked herself up and the stationer's wife fondled her and said, "You're not hurt?"

"Serves you right. We've got Fujimoto of Ryugeji on our side. . . . You'd better be careful of the darkness of the back-street," they called, flinging Sangoro on the floor just when the sound of footsteps told them someone had informed the police.

The policeman escorted Sangoro home, but the boy, fearful lest his father should know and scold him, got free from his hand before they reached the gate.

This might have marked a turning point in Midori's life. The next morning she felt rather ill but insisted on going her usual pilgrimage to a certain fox-shrine to pray for her sister's prosperity and on the way back visited Shotaro's house and played with him and looked at his treasured colour prints and humoured him in his childish dreams of becoming a big man. Still Chokichi's words, and his action "when parents even never hit their children on the head, for that Chokichi to throw the mud of his zori on my forehead was just the same as if he'd stamped on me," and Shinnyo's part had seared her soul. Ever since the spring when Shinnyo had been embarrassed at the boys teasing him when Midori lent him a handkerchief, he had scrupulously avoided her every advance until she, unable to appreciate his bashfulness, was galled by it.

And so she mused bitterly.

All right, he may be above me, he may be good at lessons, he may be the young master of Ryugeji, but Midori of Daikokuya owes not one jot of obligation to him, and I didn't expect the honour of having him call out to me as if I were a beggar. I don't know how many rich members Ryugeji has, but my sister, among her lovers in three years has had Mr. Kawa, the banker, Mr. Yone, the broker, and Mr. Chii, a member of Parliament, offered to pay the money to release her and then marry her, but there was something about him she didn't fancy, so she turned him down. But the servant said he was a very famous man. If you think it's a lie, go and ask. If my sister wasn't at Daikokuya the

place would be in darkness, they say.

After such an insult it was no pleasure for her to go to school any more, so she broke up her slate pencils and threw away her ink and let her books get lost, while she played all day with her special friends.

In the eighth chapter there is a lull in the narrative while the writer gives a very brilliant impressionistic sketch of these streets at dawn. It reads like a phantasmagoria and I shall attempt a literal translation of the first sentence only, to give an idea of her elliptical style.

In contrast to the 'Hurry up', 'Put on speed' of the evening, the loneliness of the rikisha, laden with dreams, at the hour of dawn-parting!

Brought up in such an environment, Midori's conceptions were naturally rather strange. She did not regard men as fearful or terrifying; even the work of a courtesan she didn't consider lowly; and so she came to think of the time when she had wept at her sister's departure from their old home as a dream, and was envious of her supporting her parents out of her present prosperity. Of the countless trials and hardships her sister met in her work, she was not aware.

The ninth chapter I translate in some detail as it gives Ichiyo's cynicism at its height.

From the kitchen of the temple where voices chanting 'Nyozeigamon' and the Bussetsu Amida scripture harmonise with the wind in the pines, and sweep away the dust from our minds, comes the steam of broiling fish and in the graveyard a baby's napkins are hanging out to dry. These and other such details, while of no importance, still, to people who make light of priests, seem to savour of the flesh.

The chief priest of Ryugeji, how beautiful was his stomach which grew larger with his fortune, and for the fairness of his complexion what adequate words can I find? It was not the colour of cherry blossoms, nor of crimson peach blossoms; from his newly-shaved head, all his face, right down to the nape of his neck was a burnished copper shade without one blotch to mar it. When he raised his bushy eyebrows dusted with white, and laughed to the full, the Nyorai Buddha was alarmed and seemed in danger of tumbling down from his dais.

Shinnyo's sister O-Hana was a merry girl and almost became a geisha, but that was going a little too far "unless in a world where even Buddha strummed on a samisen," so public opinion was deferred to and she was set up in a tea-dealer's, one of the priest's branch lines. He had others, his avarice even leading him to set up a stall outside the gate to sell hair ornaments in the form of lucky rakes at the Tori fair and let his wife sell them hidden by the night and a towel. All of which shocked Shinnyo

terribly.

Even though it was his own father, the boy thought his smiling face ignoble as he sat there fingering his abacus, and wondered why he was a priest.

On the night of the fight Shinnyo had gone to his sister's shop and so knew nothing of it till the next day when he regretted his name had been used, but when in a few days Chokichi apologised humbly he could say no more. Sangoro found his father's rikisha hard to pull but he bore his bruises stoically and after a week or so, the pain ceased and he forgot his resentment and played nurse to the chief's⁽³⁾ baby and was overjoyed at the paltry wages of two sen.

Then comes the change of scene from summer to autumn which is always cited as Ichiyo's best example of direct description, in contrast to her early conventional style, but it does not translate well on account of the many proper names.

. some time after the change into lined clothes has been made, when red dragon-flies dart about, it is near the time to hear the quail's note at Yokobori. In the mornings and in the evenings the autumn winds pierce you and in Josei's shop the mosquito incense has given place to refills for pocket-warmers and at Tamuraya at the stone bridge there is the lonely sound of pounding rice, and the striking of the clock at Kadoebi⁽⁴⁾ too has some tone of sorrow in its note. Seeing the glare of the fire at Nippori which continues through every season, one wonders if that is the fire where our bodies are burnt, and becomes saddened at the thought.

One rainy night the children were playing in the stationer's shop and Shotaro was prattling as usual about what he would do when he grew up and whom he would marry.

"When that time will be, I don't know. Look at the rats in the ceiling," said Midori pointing with her finger, so that the stationer's wife and all the company burst into laughter. Only Shotaro was serious and turning round those big eyes of his, said, "Midori is making fun of me, aren't you? But everybody, no matter who he is, grows big. Why is what I say, so funny, I wonder? I'll have a pretty wife and walk out with her."

The woman teased him, suggesting various possible girls, all of whom he dismissed until the only one left was Midori. His face had become red and he had moved out of the circle of the lamp light.

(3) Chokichi's father.

(4) The name of a famous house in the gay quarters.

"Then Midori-san is the one, I suppose? Is that who you've fixed on?" she asked, hitting the mark.

"I don't know anything about such things. They're nothing to me," and he turned his back on them and started drumming on the wall paper as he sang in a little voice the song "Turn, turn, oh, windmill." Midori collected every one's shells⁽⁵⁾ saying "Now let's start once again." Her face was not red.

One rainy morning some days later, Shinnyo on his way to his sister's with a parcel, broke the thong of one geta just in front of Midori's gate, and vainly tried to mend it. Through the window Midori could distinguish someone in trouble and taking a strip of rag from her work-box rushed out with it. When she recognized Shinnyo she blushed and hesitated, and he, seeing her, turned his back and appeared more busy than ever. She stood watching his clumsy efforts until her mother's voice called her. Shy at letting him hear her voice, yet she was forced to answer. Standing beside the gate she could never open, she finally pushed the rag through the bars without saying anything. When he, seeing, pretended not to see she was full of bitterness and clattered back over the stepping stones. When he finally turned round, he saw a piece of crepe-de-Chine of a pretty crimson maple pattern, wet with the rain, lying at his feet. He felt the sweetness of it, but did not stoop to pick it up, but gazed at it fixedly, filled with melancholy thoughts.

And then Chokichi, always unaccountably gentle to him, came along and lent him his new geta while he went barefoot. "The pathetic strip of crimson silk remained lying vainly outside the gate."

On the day of the third Tori fair Shotaro took a holiday from his rounds of interest-collecting and went off to meet Midori. From a stall-keeper he heard that she had passed some time back.

"Really she looked great, Shotaro, to-day with her hair done in shimada⁽⁶⁾ style like this," he said, illustrating with funny gestures. "She's pretty, isn't she, that girl?" he added, wiping his nose.

"She's prettier than her sister, but it's a shame she's going to become a courtesan too," answered Shotaro, looking down.

"What's wrong with that? If she does, next year I'll follow the festivals round and make a lot of money and take it and go and get her," he said, revealing his bovineness.

"You're talking very smart, aren't you? If you do that I'm mighty sure you'll be turned down."

(5) They were playing ohajiki—tiddly-winks.

(6) A sign she had left childhood behind.

"Why, why?"

"Anyhow, there's a reason," he laughed and his face coloured slightly.

As he walked away he sang in a strangely quavering voice the popular song of that time and that place, "Until I was 16 or 17, I was brought up like a flower or a butterfly, but now my work has seared my soul."

Then he came upon her looking as lovely as a Kyoto doll, but much sadder. Shotaro gazed in admiration at her hair and after a pause took hold of her sleeve.

"Doesn't it suit you! When did you have it done, this morning or yesterday morning? Why didn't you show it to me quickly?" he praised her hair reproachfully and she, withering, shut her lips tightly.

"I had it done in my sister's room this morning, I simply hate it," she said looking down, ashamed of passers-by.

As she felt melancholy, shy, and secretive, people's praises sounded like jeers, and the glance of those who, attracted by the shimada, turned round to stare, she interpreted as a glance of scorn.

From that time she changed completely from a tomboy to a quiet morose girl. Some people regretted the loss of her abandon and others praised the change. The old mother said significantly "Wait, now is just an interval of rest."

The front-street suddenly became lonely as when a fire goes out, and Shotaro's sweet voice was seldom heard; only at night there was a lantern moving, which was him going to collect the interest, a cold-looking figure as he walked along the banks. Sangoro was with him and his voice would be heard, up to some foolery as he ever was. . . .

Then one frosty morning some one pushed an artificial flower, a narcissus, in between the bars of the gate from outside. It wasn't clear exactly who had done it, but Midori intuitively felt a tenderness for the flower, and, arranging it in a narrow vase on the shelf, she drank in its sad purity. Later, without asking, she came to know that it must have been just the day when Shinnyo went to enter some other school and changed the colour of his sleeves.

Jan Compagnie in Japan 1672-1674 or Anglo-Dutch Rivalry in Japan and Formosa.

C. R. BOXER.

[PREFATORY NOTE.]

The reasons why I have selected the years 1672-4 for this study of the Dutch East India Company,—or Jan Compagnie as it is sometimes called,—and its trade in Japan are threefold. Firstly, the materials, both published and unpublished, for that period are particularly abundant; secondly, it marks the change from the most flourishing time of the Dutch commerce to the beginning of its decline, and lastly because the visit of the English ship *Return* to Nagasaki in 1673 also falls within this period.

In the preparation of this work I have been greatly assisted by the following gentlemen: Dr. R. Bijlsma, the Rijksarchivaris at the Hague for supplying me with copies of the necessary Dutch documents; Mr. H. J. Griffiths of Kōbe for the loan of the typescript relevant portion of Peter Pratt's monumental MSS. History of Japan, now in the press; the authorities of the Imperial Academy, Tokyo, for permission to consult the copies of the Deshima Dagh-Register there; and last, but by no means least, to my friend General Pabst, Netherlands Minister in Tokyo, for his generous encouragement and assistance in numerous ways.

C. R. B.

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I.—English Efforts to Reopen Trade with Japan (1623-1673)

a. *Abortive attempts prior to 1671.*

Although the English East India Company had closed their agency at Hirado in December 1623, and abandoned the Japan trade of their own free will, not many years elapsed before they regretted their decision and endeavoured to renew relations. However, as the old proverb says :

He who will not when he may,
When he will he shall have nay.

Various causes combined to frustrate the endeavours of the Directors of the Company. In the first place, the increasingly stringent foreign policy pursued by the Shōguns Hidetada (1605-1623) and Iyemitsu (1623-1651), which culminated in the expulsion of the Portuguese (1639) and the confining of the Hollanders and Chinese to Nagasaki (1641), boded ill for the English attempts. Furthermore, the civil wars in England (1642-8), and the wars with Holland (1652-4 and 1665-7) retarded the Company's growth at home and enfeebled its power in Asia. Finally, the Dutch and Chinese, having secured a practical monopoly of the Japanese foreign trade (if we exclude the insignificant commerce with Riūkiū and Chōsen), were not likely to welcome any prospect of English competition,—feeble as this had

been during the ten years' existence of the English factory at Hirado in 1613-1623.⁽¹⁾

Abortive efforts to renew relations were made in 1627, 1653 and in other years, but many of them never progressed beyond the paper stage. In 1635 the famous "interloper" Courteen secured permission from Charles I to try a voyage to China and Japan, but the ships which he sent out under the command of Captain Weddell got no farther than the Portuguese settlement of Macao in China.⁽²⁾

The Company's preparations were further hampered by a lack of adequate knowledge of the details of the Japan trade; their Factors at Bantam, on whom they chiefly relied for information, reported *circa* 1670 that "there was no remembrance of the Company's former trade in Japan" at their agency.⁽³⁾

During the course of the second Dutch war, an event occurred which increased the Company's chances. On Christmas Eve, 1664, one of the richest fleets which ever left the harbor of Batavia sailed homeward-bound for Holland. The outbreak of war with England forced this squadron to take refuge in the neutral harbor of Bergen in Norway, then under the rule of a Danish King. This monarch formed a very discreditable plot with the English Ambassador, whereby the Danes were to allow the English to enter the harbor and seize the Dutch fleet, after which this "vast mass of wealth, such as no age ever saw together upon the sea,"—as a contemporary described it—was to be divided between the Danes and the English. Owing to a comedy of errors this precious plot miscarried, and the Hollanders beat off the English assault. A fleet from Holland, under the command of Admirals De Ruyter and Tromp, arrived soon afterwards to convoy the merchant ships homewards, but just when all their troubles seemed ended, disaster overtook them. A violent gale off the Dogger Bank scattered the fleet to the four winds in mid-September, 1665. Some of the ships were driven by the storm into the English fleet under the command of Lord Sandwich, and were captured after a short but sharp action. Amongst these vessels was the Dutch Indiaman *Slot*

(1) See Dr. L. Riess' article in *Trans. As. Soc. Jap.* Vol XXVI.

(2) A full account of this expedition, including the sojourn at Macao, will be found in the Hakluyt Society's Edition of the *Travels* of Peter Munday, Vol. III, Hak. Soc. : Series II. Vol. LIV. Hagenauer's mention of the visit of Weddell (who appears in Papinot's celebrated dictionary as "Lord Woddell") to Nagasaki in 1637, is a baseless fabrication.

(3) M. Paske-Smith.—' *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603-1868.*' p 68.

Hooningen,⁽⁴⁾ and on board of this ship, in addition to a costly cargo, was a mass of papers containing the secrets of the Dutch trade with China and Japan.⁽⁵⁾

No sooner did the Directors of the East India Company at London get news of this windfall, than they endeavoured to secure these papers for themselves. It appears that Lord Arlington—one of the members of Charles II's famous "Cabal" Ministry—and Samuel Pepys, the celebrated diarist, at first secured these documents, or some of them, and five years later, in 1670, the E. I. C. was still trying to get hold of them.

In this year the Directors had come to a definite decision to attempt to reopen the trade with Japan. They had "entertained" for this purpose a new ship, the *Advance* of 220 tons. It was hoped to send this vessel in time to arrive at Bantam in April 1671, whence she was to proceed to Japan with the first of the westerly monsoon in May. Meanwhile they wrote to the Bantam Factors telling them to assemble a suitable cargo of goods to add to her cargo on arrival from England.

They mentioned that they hoped to get the Japanese Government to rescind its proclamations against Christianity "lest the Company's Factors should be obliged on their first arrival to deny their faith,"—a statement which indicates their unfounded optimism.

The departure of the *Advance* was delayed until January 1671, and as she had therefore no hope of reaching Japan in the westerly monsoon of 1671, the Bantam agency diverted her to Persia. This aroused the wrath of the London Directors, who had ordered that if she arrived too late to proceed to Japan, she should be sent to Cambodia and Formosa, to settle factories there as stepping-stones for Japan.⁽⁶⁾

In the correspondence over the intended voyage of the *Advance*, the Factors at Bantam mentioned that one obstacle to the reopening of trade with Japan, was the fact that when the English left in 1623, they owed large sums of money to the Japanese. Actually the boot was on the other foot, as the Japanese at Hirado owed the Company the sum of 12,000 taels,—the Daimiō being the largest debtor. This debt rumour was started by the Dutch, who must, however, have known the

(4) Which always appears in English records as the *Slothony*.

(5) A full and interesting account of the Bergen affair, and of all the events connected with it, is to be found in J. C. M. Warnsinck's *De Retourvloot van Pieter de Bitter 1664-5*. Hague 1929.

(6) The foregoing is mainly derived from Peter Pratt's *History of Japan*, Book I, Ch. IV, Section VII.

real state of affairs, as the English had left them with power of attorney to collect their debts on quitting Hirado.⁽⁷⁾

Although, as we have said, the Bantam Agency diverted the *Advance* from the Japan voyage to Persia, yet the Factors were by no means blind to the importance of renewing the trade with Japan. In June-July 1671, they fitted out two ships, *Bantam* and *Crown* for voyage to Taiwan and Japan. Both of these vessels were lost at sea, so the intended voyage was never realized, but copies of the instructions which the Bantam Factors gave to the supercargoes of the *Bantam* and *Crown* are still preserved in the India Office archives. A perusal of them is of interest as showing that the Factors had a very good idea of the situation in Nagasaki, and of what difficulties the English would be likely to encounter on their arrival there. In fact when the *Return* reached Nagasaki in June 1673, the subsequent negotiations with the Japanese officials took almost exactly the turn that the Factors had prophesied in 1671. There is no need therefore to resume these instructions here,⁽⁸⁾ but it should be noted that stress was laid on the importance of disabusing the Japanese of any ideas they might entertain about the similarity of Catholicism and Protestantism. If the supercargoes were shown any crucifixes, pictures or other "papistical relics," they were not to notice them, and state that they adored "only the ever-living God."⁽⁹⁾

The information about the conditions of the Dutch and Chinese trade at Nagasaki and the procedure of the Japanese officials, was presumably obtained by the Bantam Factors from the Dutch and Chinese at Batavia and Bantam. At any rate it was quite accurate, and agrees with the accounts given by Kaempfer and other writers.

b. Preparation of the expedition of 1671-3.

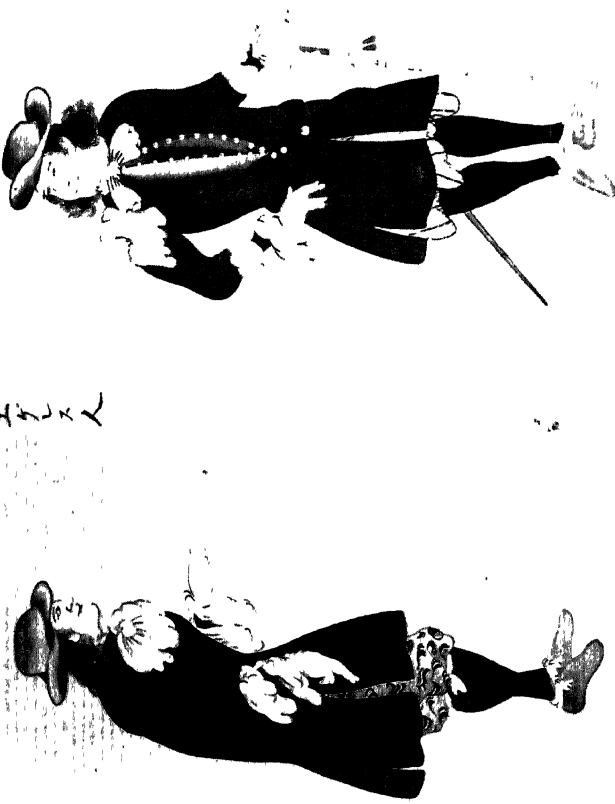
Whilst the Bantam Factors were engaged in preparing the abortive expedition of the *Bantam* and *Crown*, three more ships were being fitted out in London for the same end. The ships were *Experiment* (260 tons), Captain Limbrey, the *Return* (340 tons), Captain Atkins, and the *Zant* of 180 tons, Captain Parrick. All three vessels were to proceed to Japan, after first settling factories in Taiwan and Tonquin, if this had not already been done by the *Advance*, *Bantam* and *Crown*. The cargoes consisted mainly of English broadcloth, with lead, quicksilver and glass. Amongst

(7) See Dr. L. Riess' article *op. cit.*, and Peter Pratt;—Book I. ch. IV, folio 603.

(8) They are to be found in Peter Pratt's 'History,' Book I. ch. IV, Section VIII. folio 607 ff.

(9) *Idem.* folio 609.

二人
英人



TWO ENGLISHMEN.

(Reproduced from a Japanese makimono or picture-roll of circa 1800, in the author's collection. This was presumably copied from an original of 1673 which has not been traced, and probably represents Simon Delboe and an assistant.)

the presents intended for the Shōgun's court were various kinds of glasses, two brass guns and one mortar piece with carriage. On arrival at Bantam the three ships were to take on board various Indian goods, and then proceed to Tonquin and Taiwan where they were to lade large quantities of silks, hides, sugar and "other commodities proper for Japan."⁽¹⁰⁾

The personnel selected to carry on the projected Japan trade was as follows:—Mr. David Stephens, Chief of the Japan Factory at a salary of £ 150 a year; Samuel Baron, Second; and Simon Delboe, Third, at £ 120 each per annum. Samuel Baron's ancestry was something of a "mixed grill." He was born in Tonquin,——"his grandfather, by the father's side, a Scotchman, his father a Dutchman, and, by his mother of the race of the Portugals." He had been in the service of the Dutch, and was "well acquainted with Tonqueene, Tywan, Japan and China" and was highly commended for his intelligence and activity by the Directors, to whom he had assigned sufficient reasons for quitting the service of the Dutch.⁽¹¹⁾

Apparently, however, this worthy Eurasian was not wholly trusted, as in the event of Mr. Stephen's death, Mr. Delboe was appointed to succeed as Chief. If this occurred (as it actually did), Mr. Baron was to return home, for though satisfied with this arrangement, he considered it would be a reflection upon him to remain in the Council and not to succeed as Chief. Copies of the privileges granted Saris by Iyeyasu in 1613 were forwarded on the *Return*, and it was hoped by the Directors that this would facilitate the readmission of the English.⁽¹²⁾

One point which caused the Directors much heart-burning was the vexed question of the flag. To fly the national flag with St. George's cross, was asking for troubles with the Bakufu, who vigorously prohibited any exhibition of the cross under pain of death. In the instructions for the *Crown* and *Bantam* in 1671, the Bantam Factors had ordered those vessels to fly white and red striped flags in order to avoid giving offence. Another ingenious spirit suggested placing the arms of England, Scotland, France and Ireland in the four quarters made by the cross "only to confound the cross which is the hated object of the

(10) *Idem*. Ch. IV. Section 9.

(11) *Idem*. folio 616. This is confirmed by Dutch sources. Presumably this Samuel Baron was the son of H. Baron who was chief of the Dutch Factory in Tonquin circa 1660-1665, and who also accompanied one of Bort's expeditions to China. Cf. *Dagh-Register gehouden in't Casteel Batavia*, Annos 1662-5. *passim*.

(12) These so-called "privileges" in reality were only Saris' petition for freedom of trade. Cf. *infra*

Japaners.”⁽¹³⁾ In the end they wisely decided to fly the national flag, as otherwise “it might be laid hold of by the Dutch in order to infuse suspicion into the minds of the Japanese.” The cross was to be explained as a mere “civil” distinction having no reference to religion and totally dissimilar to that adored by the “papists.”⁽¹⁴⁾

The object of this well-considered attempt to reopen trade with Japan was twofold. Firstly, to obtain a large supply of gold, silver and copper from Japan for the supply of Surat, Madras and other Indian Factories. Secondly, to “procure a large vent” for English cloth and other manufactures, for which purpose the Factors, in the cold season, were to wear English cloth, which they were to receive at cost price. Furthermore, whenever possible, all presents were to be made in cloth and every endeavor used to push its sale.

This cloth was either to be sold in Japan for gold and silver, or else traded in Tonquin and Tywan for silks and sugar, which goods were then to be transported to Japan and there exchanged for bullion⁽¹⁵⁾

The expedition was further provided with letters from Charles II and the E. I. C. to the Shōgun, or “Emperor” as he was thought to be, of Japan. In the first, the Merry Monarch is cast for the rôle of a Royal Bagman, and we find him assuring the Shōgun that England affords “such great varieties and quantities of woollen cloths and stuffs fit for the clothing of all sorts of persons, which not only tend to ye great health and fortifying ye spirits of and delight to them that wear them, especially in such climates as your empire, but are much more lasting and cheaper than other clothing.”⁽¹⁶⁾

In spite of this glowing picture of the delights, if not of scarlet and fine linen, at least of good old English broadcloth, it is doubtful if this document could have increased the Company’s chances. The Buke class, who ruled Japan at that time, professed a lordly contempt for merchants and all their ways; however luxurious and effeminate the Shōgun’s court really was, this petty huckstering on the part of a man who called himself monarch of one of Europe’s greatest nations, cannot have impressed the Bakufu very much.

The *Return*, *Experiment* and *Zant*, set sail on September 25th, 1671. The *Zant* arrived at Bantam on April 17th, 1672, and her two consorts

(13) India Office. *Original Correspondence*, No. 3630. Cf Paske-Smith, *op cit*, pp 68-9.

(14) Peter Pratt, *op. cit.* folio 618.

(15) *Idem.* 620, 622

(16) *Idem.* 623. This letter of Charles II is also printed on p. 69 of Professor N. Murakami’s *Ikoku Nikki Sho* (異國日記抄).

five weeks later. In accordance with their instructions from London, the Bantam Factors dispatched the *Zant* to Tonquin at the beginning of June, under the command of William Gyffard. His instructions were to procure silk in Tonquin for the Japan trade and dispatch the *Zant*, laden with this commodity, to join the *Experiment* and *Return* at Taiwan in August, whence all three vessels were to proceed to Japan. Gyffard himself was to remain at Tonquin at the head of the agency which was to be established there to procure silk for the expected future trade with Japan. The *Zant* reached Tonquin on 25th June, 1672.⁽¹⁷⁾

Meanwhile the *Return*, *Experiment*, and a junk named the *Camel* were laden at Bantam for the voyage to Taiwan and Japan. Whilst these preparations were going on, the Dutch at Batavia wrote to the English Factors at Bantam, requesting them to ask the captains of the ships to use their good offices in effecting the release of the Dutch prisoners in Taiwan. These unfortunate captives, many of whom were women and children, had been in the clutches of the Chinese ever since Koxinga's invasion and capture of the island, ten years before.⁽¹⁸⁾ The Hollanders reminded the English that they had rescued several of their countrymen in Ceylon from the arduous captivity of the tyrant Rajah Singa. They sent the English a list of the captives, some letters for them, and promised to defray any expenses up to 2,000 ducats, which might be incurred by the English. These latter promised to do their best, and proved as good as their word. On June 20th, 1672, the three ships set out for Taiwan.⁽¹⁹⁾

It is clear that the Dutch knew all about the intended voyage to Japan, and were fully prepared to cope with it. No sooner did tidings reach Batavia of the expected arrival of the English ships at Bantam, than the authorities in Java wrote to the head of the Dutch factory at Deshima, directing him to warn the Japanese of the expected expedition, as was duly done.⁽²⁰⁾ Already nine years earlier, in June 1663, when information had reached Batavia of the marriage between Charles II and Princess Catherine of Braganza of Portugal, notice of this was sent to Japan with the avowed purpose of "making this alliance between England and

(17) Peter Pratt's *History*, Ch. IV Section IX. and *Dagh-Register* . . . in't *Casteel Batavia* 1672, pp. 116 and 138-9.

(18) Cf. my article in *Trans. Japan Society*, London. 1927, VOL 24; and J. C. Davidson's article in *Trans As. Soc. Jap.* Vol XXIV, and *Dagh-Register* of Batavia for years 1661, 1662 and 1663 *passim*.

(19) *Dagh-Register of Batavia*, 1672, pp. 151, 168-9.

(20) This much is clear from the correspondence between Deshima and Batavia in 1672. Copies of this correspondence were placed on board ships of the annual *Retourvloot* of 1672-3. Some of these ships were taken by the English off St. Helena in 1673, and partial translations of some of these documents, as well as the Dutch originals, are still preserved in the India Office Archives.

Portugal odious in Japan." This information was subsequently repeated, and fell on fruitful ground, as in October 1672, the Bakufu informed the Dutch at Deshima that there was no chance of the English being admitted to trade in Japan.⁽²¹⁾ For the rest, the authorities at Batavia were kept well informed by their agents at Bantam of the designs of the English, and knew all about the cargoes on their ships. The officials at Batavia waxed very sarcastic over the deserter Samuel Baron,⁽²²⁾ and professed the belief, which was subsequently proved to be well founded, that the English attempt was foredoomed to failure.

II.—Review of the Dutch Trade in Japan 1641–1672.

a. System of Government at Nagasaki.

For a full understanding of the situation of the Hollanders in Japan at the time of the English attempt to renew relations in 1671–3, it is necessary to take a brief glance at the conditions under which trade was carried on in the years 1641–1672. Most writers on the subject of the Dutch trade in Japan have been content merely to repeat the observations of Kaempfer on the matter. Kaempfer's work is certainly one of great value, but his sojourn in Japan (1690–2) was during the period when the Dutch trade had entered on a decline, and not everything which he relates is applicable to a few decades earlier. Kaempfer himself has led many subsequent writers astray by calling the "Golden Age" of the Dutch trade in Japan, the period of their residence at Hirado, 1609–1641. Yet a glance at the profits of the Deshima Factory, and a perusal of the original records, show us without a doubt that the 30 years following on the removal of the Hollanders to Deshima in 1641 form the real "Golden Age" of this commerce,—at any rate from the Dutch point of view.⁽¹⁾

In consequence of the expulsion of the Portuguese from Japan in 1639, the city of Nagasaki was faced with ruin, and the town elders petitioned the Bakufu to transfer thither the Dutch trade, by way of recompense.

(21) *Dagh-Register of Batavia, Anno 1663* p. 338. Cf. also MS. *Deshima D. R.* for August 1672.

(22) "whether the deserter, Baron, will prove so smart a fellow for the post of Second in Japan, Time will show" *Dagh-Register of Batavia, 1672*, p. 151.

(1) This section is chiefly derived from the following sources.—O. Nachod, *Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Compagnie zu Japan im 17. Jahrhundert*. Leipzig 1897; The Batavian *Dagh-Register* for the years 1641, 1661–4, and 1672–4; the extracts from the Deshima *Dagh-Register* for 1641–1659 printed by Valentyn in his *Beschrijvinge van Japan* (Dordrecht, c. 1724), and copies of the MS. *Deshima Dag-Register* for 1645, 1646, 1660 and 1673 in my possession; Hildreth's;—*Japan as it is and was*; Kaempfer's *History*, and Takekoshi's *Economic aspects of the History of Japan*, London, 1930. Volume II. Chs. 44 and 54.

This request jumped very nicely with the Shōgunate's own wishes, the more so since the merchants of Yedo, Osaka, Kiōtō and Sakai, who had a large share in the foreign trade, presented a similar petition. Accordingly in 1641 the Hollanders shifted from Hirado to Nagasaki where they were confined on the artificial islet of Deshima, built for the Portuguese six years previously.⁽²⁾

Nagasaki, in common with the other five "Imperial" towns of Kiōtō, Yedo, Osaka and Sakai, was ruled by two Governors, or Bugyō (奉行) appointed by the Shōgunate in Yedo. One of these resided at Nagasaki and one at Yedo, relieving each other at intervals. Later (1688) the number of the Bugyō was raised to three, and after 1700 to four. Their salary at this period did not exceed 2,000 koku, but of course they had their pickings—and pretty fat ones—from the Dutch and Chinese trades in addition. The officials under them were drawn from the Hatamoto class, as were the Governors themselves prior to c. 1680. To act as a check on the Governors, and to prevent their doing anything which might redound to the harm of the Bakufu, there was another official stationed at Nagasaki called the Daikwan (代官), or Shōgun's Deputy—'Imperial Factor' Kaempfer terms him. He ranked below the Bugyō, but was independent of them. By way of a check on the Daikwan, there were the agents of the Kyūshū and other Daimiō, who were maintained in the town to look after their masters' commercial and other interests. The Bugyō were assisted by Karō (家老) or secretaries, and other minor officials drawn from the ranks of the samurai.⁽³⁾

The most powerful element in Nagasaki was not, however, the Shōgunate officials, but the municipality, and if they did not pay the piper, at least they called the tune. At their head, were the four mayors or machitoshiyori (町年寄), below whom were the otona (乙名) or heads of the districts (streets) into which Nagasaki was divided,—Deshima forming one such street. The otona in their turn were assisted by kumigashira (組頭) and a swarm of lesser minions. One of the toshiyori presided for a year at a time, when the others succeeded in rotation.⁽⁴⁾ Withal the municipality itself was really ruled through the Nagasaki Chamber of Commerce—or Nagasaki Kaishō as it was called after 1698.

(2) For which later on they had to pay a rent of 19,530 guilders,—more than double what was agreed on in 1641.

(3) Kaempfer;—*History* [1st edition] Vol I. Bk. IV, and Takekoshi *op. cit.* 135-6. Out of courtesy, and to tickle their vanity, the Company's factors at Deshima also termed very minor officials "Bugyō,"—which rank, properly speaking, belonged to the Governors alone.

(4) These machitoshiyori were originally appointed by the Rōjū, or Shōgun's cabinet; up to 1683 they were allowed to wear the two swords, a privilege usually reserved for the samurai only.

At the head of this body stood two of the senior toshiyori, and below them were innumerable officials, interpreters, watchmen, guards and so forth. In fact the ramifications of this guild—for such it really was—extended to every branch of the life of Nagasaki down to quite humble persons, and its members totalled about 1,500 in the eighteenth century. These municipal officials for the most part held their offices by hereditary right—in fact if not in theory—so that, as may be imagined, this Nagasaki Kaishō controlled the municipal Government as it liked.⁽⁵⁾

Prominent amongst members of this Kaishō, were the interpreters, who numbered about 100, and were themselves formed into a “college” or guild. The contemporary Dutch writers have drawn us a very unflattering picture of these worthies, and the narration of their misdeeds would fill a fat tome.⁽⁶⁾ Their ranks included interpreters in Portuguese, Dutch, Chinese, Siamese and Tonquinese, but very few of them could speak Dutch well. It should be noted that at this time some of the former interpreters to the Portuguese were still living, and these could read and write Portuguese fluently.

For the security of the port of Nagasaki, and to watch over the foreign trade, a large number of guards were maintained. The largest of these was provided by the Daimiō of Hizen and Chikuzen (Hakata); each supplying the annual guard in turn. This guard was composed of Kyūshū samurai, and stationed in various forts and redoubts along the coast formed by the inlet of Nagasaki bay. Another guard named funaban (船番) was furnished by the government of Nagasaki to watch over the foreign ships in port. A third guard roved the neighbouring coasts in quest of smugglers, and was charged with the whaling industry, whilst a fourth was posted on the surrounding hilltops to light the beacons laid there on the approach of foreign ships. Lastly, another guard watched over the Dutch at Deshima, and during the time that their ships were in port the Hollanders maintained a guard of their own men to prevent the pilfering of their goods by their Japanese guard.⁽⁷⁾

The taxes in Nagasaki were very light. The only official tax was one levied on land-holders in the city, and this did not amount to much. In addition there was a voluntary (in theory) tax named Hassaku-

(5) Takekoshi *op. cit.* pp. 154 ff.

(6) Kaempfer Vol. I, Bk. IV, pp. 343-8 gives some amusing instances. The perusal of any of the Deshima Diaries will afford hundreds of similar ones. The general opinion of them at this period was well expressed by Volger, the Deshima Director of 1664, who wrote in his report on the matter “it is our own dogs that bite us.” In the XVIII century a better feeling began to prevail.

(7) Valentyn, *op. cit.* p. 40. Kaempfer, Bk. IV, Ch. II.

gin. This was a fund collected from the citizens and presented to their superiors, on the holiday of the 1st August. On the same occasion the municipality made presents to the Bugyō. Against these taxes, was the advantage derived by all the citizens, high and low alike, from a sort of benefit fund named the hanakin (花金 -flower money), which was created out of the profits obtained from the foreign trade.⁽⁸⁾

b. Conditions under which Trade was carried on.

The Dutch vessels left Batavia for Japan during the S. W. monsoon, which blows from April to September. If proceeding direct to Japan, they usually left in the first half of June, but if they were to call at Tonquin, Siam or Taiwan (up to 1661) on the way, they were dispatched earlier. They never stayed more than three months in Nagasaki, and had to leave by a fixed date early in the N. E. monsoon. In 1658 this date was fixed at the 20th day of the 9th moon, and, whatever the weather, the ships had to set sail, being towed as far as the entrance of the inlet by Japanese boats, if the wind was against them.⁽⁹⁾

As soon as a Dutch ship was sighted by the guards on the hill-tops, the Nagasaki Bugyō was informed. He in his turn informed the *opperhoofd* or Director of the Dutch Factory in Deshima who sent two or three Dutchmen with interpreters and officials to meet the ship. The Japanese officials got from the ship's captain lists of the crew and cargo, as well as all letters which were examined on shore by the interpreters before delivery to the Dutch. Previously, on sighting the coast of Kyūshū, all the ship's passengers and crew were compelled to deliver up to the Captain all Dutch money, bibles, trinkets and anything connected with Christianity. These were then sealed up in a cask and hidden away till the ship's departure from Nagasaki.

On arriving in the harbour, the ship fired salutes for the town and garrison, afterwards dropping anchor off Deshima. If the weather was contrary, the vessel was towed in by a swarm of Japanese boats,—“as many as they think necessary—that is at least twice the number there is occasion for.”⁽¹⁰⁾

No sooner did the ship drop anchor, than another swarm of officials came on board. These ransacked the vessel from truck to keel for any sign of Christian or contraband goods, and made a detailed review of the crew. The sails, arms and ammunition were then removed and stored on

(8) *Idem.* and Takekoshi, *op. cit.* p. 189.

(9) This rule about leaving on October 12th, whatever the weather, was responsible for at least one disaster.

(10) Kaempfer, *op. cit.* 349-40. Valentyn, p. 40-1

shore till the departure of the Dutch. Originally, in 1641, the heavy ordnance and rudder were likewise taken out, but the wily Hollanders subsequently forestalled this manoeuvre by fixing up the ship's rudders in Holland in such a manner that they could not be removed.⁽¹¹⁾ After 1650, the severity of this process was relaxed, the cannon being left on board and only the gunpowder taken,—although “no Japanese could be persuaded to enter the powder-magazine at any price” as a contemporary Hollander sarcastically noted.⁽¹²⁾ Warnings were then read to the crew, and posted up in the ship, enjoining orderly behaviour towards the people of Nagasaki, and prohibiting smuggling and references to Christianity. In later years this likewise became a farce.

A few days after the ship's arrival, the cargo was unladed by about 300 coolies (paid by the Dutch who were not allowed to use their own crews for the purpose), and brought ashore to the water-gate of Deshima. Here it was examined by the Karō, or Bugyō's secretary, and then stored under seal in the warehouses on Deshima till the time of the sale. Private persons' trunks were likewise opened and examined. The Dutch staff at Deshima was liable to be searched, in common with all other Japanese and Hollanders going to and from the ships. In practice, however, this was seldom done as regards the *opperhoofd* and his second, and these two men were usually allowed to retain their swords.⁽¹³⁾

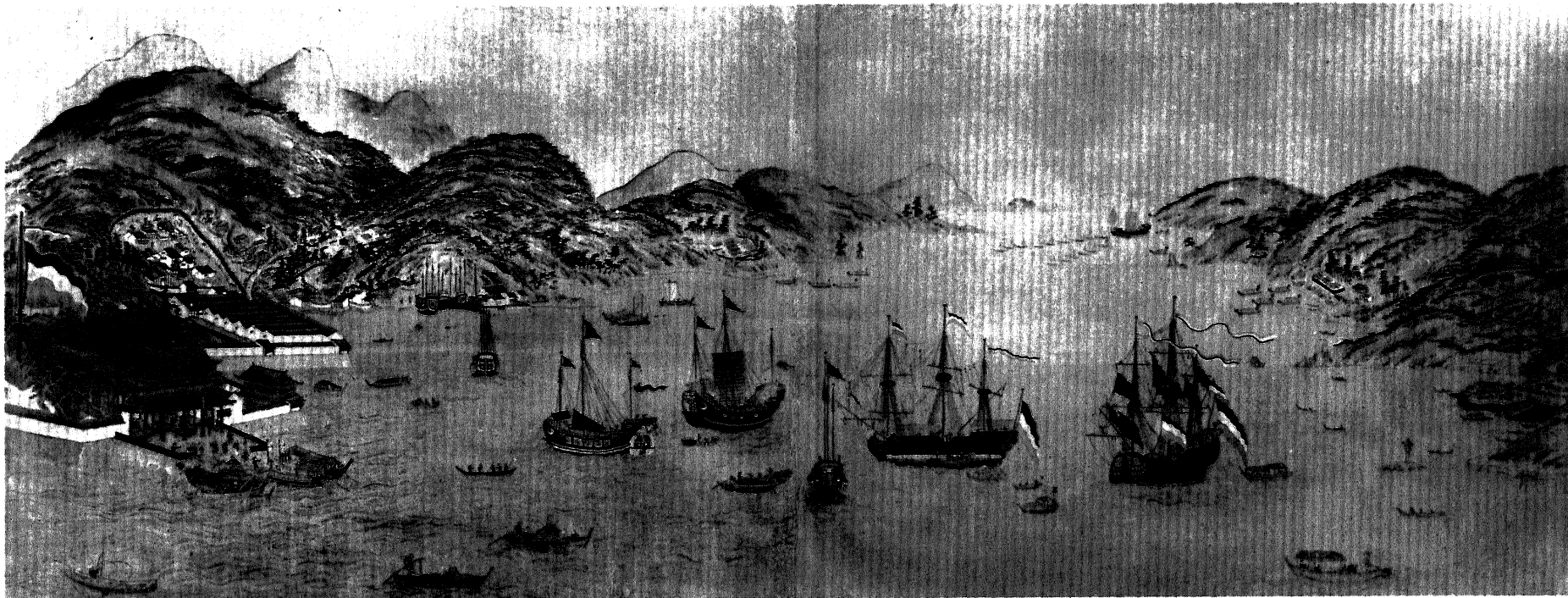
A few days before the time fixed for the sale of the Dutch goods, the Bugyō and interpreters selected from amongst them the presents which were to be presented to the Shōgun, Rōjū and Nagasaki officials. These varied greatly according to the fleeting fancies of the recipients. Amongst the articles most in request at this period were colored glasses,⁽¹⁴⁾ rhinoceros horn, hunting paraphernalia, and (in 1652) mermaid's teeth! These goods having been selected and put aside, the remainder were then auctioned on the two or three days allotted for the sale. From 1641-1671 inclusive, the Hollanders sold their goods in the open market, to bidders who had come from all over Japan (but chiefly from Kiōto, Osaka and Sakai) for the purpose. Exceptions to this rule were the *pancado* on silk (of which more anon), and the various embargoes placed on the export of gold, silver and copper at different times.

(11) Valentyn, p. 41.

(12) *Idem*.

(13) *Idem*.

(14) *Deshima Dagh-Register* for 1644. This glass was sometimes put to curious uses. The present writer possesses a *tsuba* (sword-guard) of iron carved in the shape of a chrysanthemum, or similar flower, with the spaces between the petals filled up with green coloured glass.



NAGASAKI HARBOUR WITH DUTCH AND CHINESE SHIPPING.

(On the extreme left, the islet of Deshima; left middle distance, the Chinese factory; centre and foreground, Dutch and Chinese shipping with Japanese guard-boats etc. From an old Japanese water-colour painting in the author's collection.)

c. Imports and Exports 1641-1672; profits thereon.

During this period the most important article imported by the Dutch was silk; chiefly raw, but also the finished article. Other important goods were buffalo hides, deer-skins, sandalwood, sugar, spices, coral, tin and cloth. Looking and coloured glasses, knives, weapons and pictures were used for gifts, as well as specimens from the animal world such as horses and falcons for the chase, and ostriches and cassowaries to tickle the fancy of the Shōgun's court. Full lists of all articles imported are easily available, and the reader is referred thereto for further details.⁽¹⁵⁾

By far the most valuable part of the goods exported by the Hollanders consisted of precious metals, and it was for the sake of the enormous quantities of gold, silver and copper which, at different times, they procured from here, that they endured all the insults and indignities which they had perforce to suffer in Japan.⁽¹⁶⁾ Below we append a few facts and figures about the chief items in the trade, culled from various sources.

Silk. The strong position so long maintained by the Portuguese in despite of Dutch opposition, was chiefly due to their being able to import large quantities of Chinese silk, from their base in Macao. For long the Dutch had no foothold in silk-rich countries, but in 1637 they got a footing in Tonquin. The abolition of the Japanese mercantile marine in 1635, the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1639, and the opening up of new sources of supply in Persia and Bengal, all gave a tremendous impetus to the silk imports of the Dutch *c.* 1640. Of the three kinds of silk imported in bulk by the Dutch, *i.e.* Persian, Bengal and Tonquinese, this last gave the best profits. In 1645, the gain on Tonquinese silk was a clear 143 per cent and Overtwater, the *opperhoofd*, says that Tonquin silk sold for the same price in Japan as in Holland.⁽¹⁷⁾ This was in despite of the *pancada* which was placed on the import of silk from 1603-1655. Under this *pancada*, the merchants of Yedo, Kiōtō, Osaka, Sakai and Nagasaki were granted a monopoly of the silk import business. They decided on the price beforehand, and having established standard quotations they distrib-

(15) Cf. Nachod *op. cit.* pp. 354-9, and tables on pp. CXCIV—CCX: Valentyn, *op. cit.* p. 47-8; *Batavia Dag-Registers*, 1641-1672, *passim*. Cf. also Appendix III.

(16) Sterthemius, who had been at Deshima in 1650-1, at the end of a report detailing the indignities to which the Dutch were subjected in Japan wrote,—"But I seem to hear a whisper in my ear, that some vexations can surely be endured for the sake of Japan's sweet gains, since Japan is the strongest sinew of the Company's inland trade and of the Indian profits; and this (in so far as our self respect allows us to endure it) is true." Valentyn. p. 127.

(17) MSS. *Deshima Dag-Registers* of 1645 and 1646. Another reason for the increased demand for silk at this time, was Iyemitsu's cancellation of the decree forbidding merchants and samurai to wear silk, in 1642.

uted the goods at that figure.⁽¹⁸⁾ Naturally enough this arrangement did not suit the Dutch and Chinese importers so well—although as we have seen their profits were not to be sneezed at,—and in 1655 by a clever trick the Celestials broke down the *pancado* which was removed.⁽¹⁹⁾ Years later it was reimposed in another form.

Hides and Skins. Large quantities of deer-skins, hides and buffalo horns were imported from Java, Siam, and (till 1661) from Taiwan. Withal, one of the things which contributed to the dislike of the Dutch shown by many of the upper classes, was this trade in animal's skins, which in Japan was reserved for the outcast Eta. These Eta used to attend the sales at Deshima to bid for the hides, and on their appearance the other merchants "all sprang up and made way for them as speedily as if they saw the Devil coming; for none will eat, drink, or be seen in company with such fellows . . . for they are held to be the lowest people in Japan."⁽²⁰⁾

Gold. From 1641 till 1663 there was an embargo laid on the export of gold by the Dutch. Then the Hollanders, who needed the gold very badly for the Surat and Coromandel markets in India, begged the Bakufu to allow the export of gold, and by way of an inducement, they offered to pay for it at the rate of 68 momme (匁) of silver for 1 ryō (兩) of gold. As the exchange rate in Osaka and Kiōtō was then 58 to 1, this advance of 10 momme proved too great a temptation, and the Dutch were allowed to export the gold.⁽²¹⁾ This they habitually took in the form of kobans (小判), and transported the greater part to India, where it was very advantageously disposed of at a profit of about 25 per cent. With the depreciation of the coinage in the Genroku period (1688-1702) this profit was turned into a loss, and the gold export lost its value for the Dutch.⁽²²⁾ It had reached its zenith in 1670-1 when more than 160,000 kobans were exported at a profit of a million guilders.

Silver. In 1640 the Hollanders had exported over 1,300,000 taels of this metal, and although the next year, the amount dropped sharply, yet for more than two decades this metal formed a large part of the Dutch

(18) The Japanese called the *pancado*, itowari (絲割) and the guild merchants of the five privileged cities were termed itowari-toshiyori (絲割年寄). Cf. Takekoshi p. 136-140.

(19) Murdoch; *History of Japan*, Vol III. p. 284. Takekoshi p. 140, and Valentyn p. 94.

(20) Valentyn. p. 40.

(21) Takekoshi p. 160, and Batavian *Dagh Register*, 1663, p. 651, and 1664 p. 580. In 1663 they had with the connivance of the Nagasaki officials smuggled 72,558 kobans, and probably had done so on occasion before.

(22) Feenstra Kuiper;—*Japan en de Buitenwereld in de XVIII eeuw*. Hague 1921. p. 97. The chief reason for the profit on gold in India during the XVII century was the difference in the coinage a *koban* being rated higher than the local *pagoda* containing the same amount of gold.

cargoes. In 1668, a ban was placed on the export of silver by the Dutch, but this did not worry them much, as it was already more profitable for them to buy gold for silver in Japan and to dispose of the gold on the Coromandel coast, where its relative value was much higher, and in Surat and Persia.⁽²³⁾

Copper. From 1638-1645 there was an embargo on the export of copper. In the next year the director, Van Tzum, presented a petition to the Bakufu containing three requests:—better treatment for the Hollanders, modification of the silk *pancada*, and permission to export copper. The first two requests were rejected, but the last, which was certainly the most profitable for the Company, was granted.⁽²⁴⁾ Thence forward this metal took an increasingly important place in the lists of Dutch exports. About 1670-1672, 61,000 piculs of copper were exported by the Hollanders. Most of this consisted of refined copper made up in small bars, and was chiefly disposed of at Batavia, on the Coromandel coast, and in Bengal, where it brought from 50 per cent to 80 per cent profit.⁽²⁵⁾ During this period the Dutch purchased the copper through a guild of merchants (forerunners of the later Dō-za), who were granted a monopoly in handling it by the Bakufu. This guild of copper contractors was accustomed to bribe the interpreters in order to gain their aid in selling the copper to the Hollanders at the highest possible price. These latter were therefor compelled to give the interpreters still heavier bribes in order to keep the price of copper down, so that these worthies were in the fortunate position of being able to have their cake and eat it.⁽²⁶⁾

It will be clear from the foregoing that the amount of gold, silver and copper exported by the Dutch (to say nothing of that taken away by the Chinese), during the period 1641-1672 was very considerable. This drain of precious metals caused ever increasing concern to the Shōgunate which adopted various measures in 1672, 1685, 1696 and in later years to check it. The fear that the country would be entirely denuded of gold and silver, if this export continued, induced Arai Hakuseki to write his celebrated memorandum on the foreign trade.⁽²⁷⁾ His statements as to the amount

(23) Cf. Nachod, p. 356 and CCCIII

(24) MSS. Report of Reynier van Tzum, *opperhoofd* at Deshima in 1645-6.

(25) Kaempfer.

(26) Thus in 1670 the *opperhoofd* Camphuys "having bought 22,466 piculs of refined copper, at 12¹/₂ Taels the picul, and 102 piculs of coarse copper, made the company of Interpreters a present of 1360 taels, besides a pack instead of a picul which he gave to every chief Interpreter, and half a pack to every Inferior Interpreter." Kaempfer p. 344.

(27) Entitled *Honchō Hokwa Tsūyō Jiryaku* or *Short Notices of the circulation of Japanese Precious metals* 1718 Cf. Hildreth;—*Japan as it is and was*. p. 592.

of gold and silver exported, were for long unquestioningly accepted, but of late the tide has turned too much the other way. All historians unite in denouncing his figures and facts as worthless, but whatever the former may have been, his general ideas as regards the latter were sound. His thesis was that (especially during the XVIIth century) the balance of trade was against Japan, and that the drain of precious metals was not compensated for by an adequate import of useful goods. This contention seems to me to be sound. One of his most bitter critics, Dr. Yosoburo Takekoshi, at the end of a scathing denunciation of Arai's thesis observes "There can be no doubt that Western traders in those days not merely imported Chinese merchandize into Japan, but exported Japanese goods to China and Europe." This was true only to a very small extent. The Japanese goods exported to Europe were never of any importance, and only amounted to a few lacquered cabinets, and a quantity of indifferent porcelain each year. An examination of the Batavian *Dagh-Register* and other contemporary Dutch records of the years 1641-1672, shows that by far the greatest part of the cargoes brought from Japan consisted of metals. From 1641-1646, silver formed the chief part; from 1646-1668 silver and copper; from 1668-1672, gold and copper. The only other items of any importance were camphor and lacquered ware, but it is quite correct to say that from 1641-1672, the Dutch ships which left Japan were treasure ships in the true sense of the term, and fit to be ranked alongside the better known silver and plate fleets of New Spain. This fact was clearly recognized by contemporaries, and the ships coming from Japan to India were termed the "silver fleet" *circa* 1650-1660.⁽²⁸⁾ The average number of ships sent to Japan yearly during the period 1641-1673, was about eight or nine—the highest number was 12 in 1665, as against two in 1668. When these ships left Nagasaki in October, three or four would be sent to India via Taiwan (till the loss of that place in 1662) and Malacca, whilst the remainder usually proceeded direct to Batavia. Sometimes one ship would call at Tonquin or Siam if there was a special demand for copper or gold there. In later years, two or three ships would proceed direct to Batavia, and one each to Bengal, Coromandel and Surat, and from this last to Persia. As the bulk of their cargoes was, as already stated, in pre-

(28) Saar, —*Oost-Indische Reis*, 1671 edition, p. 69-70. It must be carefully borne in mind that from the Dutch India Company (V.O.C.)'s point of view, Japan was chiefly a market where it disposed of certain goods advantageously in exchange for large quantities of gold (or silver up to 1668) and copper; this bullion was then marketed in India and Persia at a further profit, for goods which were then exported to Europe, and sold there for a third profit. Its importance to the Dutch therefore largely depended on the flourishing (or otherwise) state of their India trade.

cious metals, it will be readily perceived that the exports from Japan were exceedingly valuable, and it will be as well to append a few figures. In 1643, there was a profit of nearly 660,000 guilders; next year 635,000; in 1645 a million guilders, despite greatly increased Chinese competition;—"wherefor God Almighty be praised to the highest" as Overtwater wrote; the next two years yielded profits of 60 per cent and 80 per cent respectively.⁽²⁹⁾ Figures for the remaining years will be found in Nachod's work, so we will merely state here that on the arrival of the *Return* and *Experiment* in Bantam in May, 1672, they learned that the Hollanders had made a clear profit of over one and a half million guilders in 1671.⁽³⁰⁾

Nor must it be forgotten that this was the least half of the business. The metals and goods purchased in Japan were disposed of in India and elsewhere at enormous profits. As already noted, copper yielded 50 per cent—80 per cent profit on the Coromandel Coast, gold 25 per cent, and other commodities in proportion. The policy of the V. O. C. was quite simple, to buy in the cheapest market and to sell in the dearest. Thus, they got pepper in Bantam for two taels three maes the picul, and sold it in Osaka for three times the amount,—and yet complained that the price in Osaka was too cheap!⁽³¹⁾ Profits on silk fluctuated violently between 20 per cent and 200 per cent whilst European goods and curiosities usually yielded large profits.⁽³²⁾ As the combined profits on the imports to Japan and on the sale of the exports therefrom in India frequently amounted to over 100 per cent, it is not surprising that, as Murdoch states, the total profits of the Japan trade were for long sufficient to pay the annual dividend of 12 per cent.⁽³³⁾

The Dutch were also assisted in their business by their having only Chinese competition to face, and by the natural tendency of the Japanese to buy an article when it is scarcest, and at its highest price. It must not be thought that the Japanese merchants with whom the Dutch drove such a profitable business, were pure philanthropists. Far from it; for instance, they bought the Hisha-aya silk at 17 momme per kijaku (31 feet), and sold it for 37-8 momme of silver. Foreign sugar they bought at $\frac{1}{16}$ momme

(29) Macleod;—*De Oost-Indische Compagnie als Zeemogendheid in Azië (1602-1652)*. pp. 305-7 and 366-9, and MSS. Report of Overtwater on the Japan trade in 1645, and similar one of Van Tzum for 1646. The former was written from Taiwan in January, 1646.

(30) Nachod. p. CII-CCX and Peter Pratt's *History* Ch. IV. Section IX.

(31) Takekoshi. p. 413. Puzzled readers of that page might like to know that "Dr. Lees" stands for Dr. Ludwig Riess.

(32) Nachod p. 355, and Overtwater's report for 1645.

(33) Murdoch *op. cit.* p. 261.

per pound and sold at 2-2½ momme of silver.⁽³⁴⁾ Although the published accounts of the Nagasaki Kaishō show a profit of 45 per cent on the Dutch trade, yet the real figures were much higher. As both the Dutch importers and Nagasaki exporters were making such handsome profits on their business, the question arises as to who "carried the baby?" The answer is the consumer, and, to a lesser degree (in the XVIIIth century to an increasing degree), the Shōgunate. The Nagasaki Kaishō, like the V. O. C., was in practice a monopoly concern; with the difference that whereas in Holland anyone could join the Company and share in the accruing benefits, in Japan the profits resulting from the foreign trade were confined to the inhabitants of one city and members of a commercial ring.⁽³⁵⁾

III.—New Conditions affecting Trade in 1672.

a. the "Taxatie Handel" or Shihō Shōbai (市法商賣).

Naturally enough, the Bakufu officials looked askance at the constant drain of metals from the country, and made several attempts to check it. The first of these were not very successful. The Nagasaki Bugyō were directed to exhort the Japanese merchants to purchase foreign goods at the lowest possible price.⁽³⁶⁾ At the same time, in 1670, the Director of the Dutch trade at Deshima was warned that if the Hollanders persisted in selling their goods at such high prices, then the *pancado* on silk would be reimposed.⁽³⁷⁾ These instructions were apparently regarded by both parties as an essay in the gentle art of teaching grandmothers to suck eggs. At any rate in 1671, as we saw in the previous section, the Dutch had a record year, whilst the Chinese also made huge profits.

This time, however, the Bakufu was in earnest, and in 1672 the blow fell. In this year the Governor of Nagasaki, Chuzayemon Ushigome, acting on orders from the Rōjū, first of all raised the value of the gold koban to six taels eight maes of silver, and then imposed on the Dutch and Chinese the Shihō Shōbai (municipal sale), or as the Hollanders termed it "Taxatie Handel." This system of appraisement of values was really nothing else than the extension of the old *pancado* on silk to all articles imported from abroad.⁽³⁸⁾

(34) Takekoshi, p. 161.

(35) *Idem.* pp. 177-180. Cf. also *idem.* 161-2.

(36) *Idem.* p. 141. "even experienced merchants knew not how to comply with this official injunction."

(37) Nachod p. 368-9.

(38) Kaempfer, pp. 359-360; Takekoshi. 141-2. "Taxatie Handel" literally means "appraised trade"

Having obtained from the Dutch samples of all goods imported by them, under the pretext of having their value estimated by competent persons, the Governor showed these samples to selected members of the Nagasaki Shihō Kaishō or Chamber of Commerce. He then agreed with them in appraising them at a certain valuation, without consulting the Hollanders in the matter. This valuation was naturally much below the previous prices, but the Dutch had to sell at this fixed price, or else take their goods away. The goods were then distributed to the five business districts, namely Nagasaki, Kiōtō, Yedo, Osaka and Sakai, into which the whole country was divided. These were again subdivided into smaller districts, and the volume of goods to be distributed to each of these smaller districts was fixed; furthermore, trade in these goods was limited to those merchants who had been concerned therewith, numbering 6,646, of whom 5,412 were Nagasaki men. Practically therefore this amounted to a monopoly of the foreign trade of Japan for the Nagasaki Kaishō and its branches.⁽³⁹⁾

The Deshima Director in this year, Joannes Camphuys,⁽⁴⁰⁾ placed the blame for this innovation on the shoulders of Inaba, Mino no Kami, an influential member of the Rōjū from 1657-1681, who was a relative of the Governor of Nagasaki. According to him, this Inaba, Mino no Kami, had felt himself grievously insulted by the Dutch in 1664, because a splendid candelabrum which he had specially ordered from Holland to present to Iyemitsu's shrine at Nikkō, had on arrival at Nagasaki been sent to the Shōgun and not to him.⁽⁴¹⁾ The fact that this Shihō Baibai was also applied to the Chinese—who were guiltless of any dealings with Inaba—in this same year, somewhat discounts Camphuys' theory, although it is well supported by other contemporary Dutch records.

It may well be imagined that this new system of trade was an unpleasant surprise for the seven richly laden ships which arrived at Nagasaki in the autumn of 1672, and the Hollanders were both loud and bitter in their

(39) *Idem.* See table on pp. 142-7 of this latter work for full details of the shares of the various guilds and merchants.

(40) Joannes Camphuys came out to India on board the *Draeck* in 1654, with the rank of assistant. He was thrice *opperhoofd* of Deshima, viz., in 1672, 1674 and 1676. Valentyn states that,—“Since he was a very courteous and prudent gentleman, he knew how to make himself uncommonly well-liked by the Japanese; both the special liking they had for him, and the great pleasure his services in Japan gave their Honours [the Batavian Council], contributed to his being sent thither thrice.” He was Governor-General from 1684-1691. He was responsible for sending Kaempfer to Japan and supplied him with many materials for his history. Despite the hard treatment he received from the Japanese in 1672 and 1674, he always had a strong affection for the country. On his country seat near Batavia he had a house in Japanese style and entertained his guests with Japanese dishes.

(41) *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1664, p. 579-80. Kaempfer p. 359. Kaempfer got his facts from Camphuys.

complaints. All efforts to induce the Japanese authorities to yield, or even to compromise, were unsuccessful and the sale of the goods was carried out under these new conditions. Withal, however, the result was not so disadvantageous to the Dutch as one would imagine from the fierceness of their complaints. Just prior to the arrival of the ships at Batavia in December, it was stated that "this year's profits in Japan have been very sober, and not more than 1,001,826 guilders were made on imports valued at 1,739,351 which is not more than 55 per cent ; for which we have bought and received 69,307 gold kobans, 22,466 piculs of bar-copper, 10,820 taels in copper cash, 102 piculs of baked-copper, besides some porcelain, provisions and other supplies."⁽⁴²⁾ One would have thought that a profit of 55 per cent was not so bad after all, and only "very sober" in comparison with the previous year's excessive gain.⁽⁴³⁾

b. War with England and France.

1672 was destined to be an unlucky year for the Hollanders, and that not only in Japan. The long-threatening war with France had finally broken out in the spring of that year, and the troops of "Le Roi Soleil" invaded the United Provinces in conjunction with those of the German Bishop of Munster. England, bound to France by Charles II's secret treaty of Dover, had simultaneously declared war, and the Dutch were faced with a crisis greater than any since the days of Alva. Hostilities soon spread to Asiatic waters, but here the Dutch were in a much stronger position, and had made careful preparations for the coming storm.⁽⁴⁴⁾ They had long been anxious over the doings of a French squadron under De La Haye which had arrived at Surat in September, 1671, and joined forces with the ships of Colbert's East India Company which had been established there since 1668. In October, 1671, De La Haye had started on a cruise with a squadron of 13 sail, and no one knew whither he was bound. By his previous arrogant behaviour towards both Dutch and English he had shown that he was looking for trouble, and had declared his intention of forcing all ships he met with, to strike their flags to his squadron. But what caused the Batavian authorities vastly more concern than the sabre-rattling of this swashbuckler, was the presence on board his squadron of one of the Directors of the French East India

(42) *Dagh-Register, Batavia, 1672*, p. 353.

(43) In fairness it must be remembered that if the Dutch made huge profits in some quarters, yet their expenses were likewise enormous. The Company had nearly 20,000 men in its employ and maintained regular fleets and armies in the Indies, besides numerous fortresses.

(44) A full description of the course of 1672-1674 in Asia, based on the original sources, will be found in the *Mariner's Mirror*, 1930, to which the interested reader is referred for details.

Company—François Caron. Caron had formerly been for more than 30 years in the service of the V. O. C and had risen from cabin-boy to the post of Director-General at Batavia, only one grade below that of Governor-General. He knew the secrets of the Asiatic trade from A to Z, and in particular was well acquainted with Japan, having resided there for many years and married a Japanese lady as his first wife by whom he had five children. None other amongst the servants of the V. O. C. during the two centuries of its existence, ever attained to a like knowledge of the language, customs and manners of the country as he did,—with the exception of Will Adams.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Hence the news that a strong French fleet was sailing along the Malabar coast, bound for an unknown destination, was certainly calculated to cause serious misgivings in the minds of the authorities at Batavia. They suspected that De La Haye had received orders to found a French port either in Ceylon or Banca (off the E. coast of Sumatra), and they were right. A French settlement at Banca would threaten the trade routes from Batavia to China, Japan, and India, would neutralise Malacca, and would have anticipated Raffles' foundation of Singapore. It would in fact have been a pistol pointed at the heart of Batavia, to vary Napoleon's celebrated metaphor. Of this the authorities were well aware, and resolved to forestall the French by sending some ships to cruise off Banca at the beginning of June 1672. These ships were also entrusted with the task of convoying the richly laden ships for Japan, as far as the N. end of Banca. The five ships bound for Japan were the *Pynacker*, *Beemster*, *Steerner*, *Udam* and *Cuylenburgh*, carrying cargoes valued at 1,407,913 guilders, under the command of Martinus Caesar who was to be the Director at Doshima for 1673, in succession to Camphuys.⁽⁴⁶⁾ This

(45) François Caron was born in Brussels c. 1600 of Protestant parents who were soon afterwards domiciled in Holland. In 1619 he came to Japan as cook's-mate on a ship, and by sheer merit had raised himself to the position of head of the Dutch Factory at Hirado in 1639-40. He left Japan in 1641 after having faithfully served the V. O. C. in that country for more than 20 years. He was rewarded with the rank of *Raad van Indie* which he held from 1642-7. In 1643 he commanded an expedition to Ceylon which wrested Negumbo from the Portuguese, and was Governor of Taiwan (Formosa) from 1644-6. In 1647 he was appointed Director General, but private spite prevented his further rise, and he quitted the Company's service in 1652. In 1665 he entered French service and was appointed Director of Colbert's newly formed East India Company, being decorated with the order of St Michael by Louis XV. He established the French Factory at Surat on a firm basis in 1668, and founded another agency in Bantam in 1671. He had previously drawn up in France a remarkable series of documents on the prospects of opening trade with Japan. These papers have been printed several times, and show his deep knowledge of the subject. His attempts to form a factory in Banca, likewise proved abortive. He was recalled to France in 1671, but perished in a shipwreck off Lisbon in the homeward voyage in the following year at the age of 72.

(46) *Dagh-Register, Batavia, 1672* p. 156-8. Cf. Appendix III for full list of cargoes.

squadron set sail in mid-June and was followed a month later by two more ships carrying cargoes worth 540,000 guilders. Meanwhile news arrived that De La Haye had put into the bay of Trincomali in Ceylon, where he was being blockaded by a Dutch squadron under Rijckloff Van Goens, and the Council at Batavia breathed again. At the beginning of October, however, they received a fresh shock with the news that eight of the French ships had slipped out of the bay and made their escape. Where they had gone was not certain, but it was feared they were bound for Banca. Caron had indeed wisely advised that the French should proceed thither, but he was overruled by De La Haye and the ships proceeded to the Coromandel coast, whence Caron returned to Europe, whilst De La Haye was besieged in Saõ Thome by the Dutch. The Batavian authorities did not know this, of course, and with their mind on Caron they trembled for the safety of their ships shortly due back from Japan. Accordingly they hurriedly fitted out a squadron of eight ships to proceed to Pulo Timoa in order to meet and convoy safely home the expected Japan Fleet. In their instructions for the commander, Van der Dussen, the following passage occurs;—" . . . it is highly probably that the said François Caron, well knowing by experience when the ships bound from Japan are due in these ports, will try to persuade the Viceroy [De La Haye] to intercept this costly treasure-fleet, which proceeding would be very advantageous for them in these troubled times."⁽⁴⁷⁾ Hence Van der Dussen was ordered to meet force with force, if necessary, and bring home the Japan ships at all costs.

At the end of October news arrived at Batavia of the outbreak of war with France and England. The authorities had already taken steps to deal with the French, and they now dispatched a squadron to cruise off Banca for the *Return*, *Experiment*, *Zant* and *Camel* which were expected to appear at any time on their return voyage from Japan, Taiwan and Tonquin.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Actually none of the ships had been able to proceed to Japan that year. The *Return* wintered in Taiwan, and so escaped the Dutch net, and the *Zant* from Tonquin likewise (temporarily as it proved) made good her escape. The waiting squadron, however, picked up another vessel, *Hannibal*, from Jambi on November 12, and a few weeks later the *Experiment* (on Dec. 20th) and *Camel* (March 27th, 1673) fell into the trap. All these vessels, unaware of the outbreak of hostilities, formed an easy prey. Meanwhile Van der Dussen had duly met and escorted home

(47) *Idem.* p. 276.

(48) *Idem.* p. 293, 309-11.

the ships from Japan, which entered Batavia on 19th December 1672, "for which the Lord be praised" as the Castle Chronicler piously observed.⁽⁴¹⁾

For the Hollanders at Batavia the year thus closed with a far fairer prospect than that which confronted their compatriots in the Fatherland. Two things only marred their satisfaction. One was the new *Taxatic Handel* in Japan, and the other the tidings that the *Cuylenburgh*, which had left for Japan in June, had been lost with great loss of life and treasure to the "Honourable Company." This ship was stranded on the North coast of Formosa on August 2nd. Thirty-four of the crew elected to stay by the wreck, and were shortly afterwards massacred by the Taiwan Chinese, whilst the cargo was carried over to Fuchow. Twenty-one mariners, including the skipper, embarked in the ship's boat, and reached the Goto islands near Nagasaki on August 20th, after suffering great hardships through lack of provisions. They were none too well treated by the inhabitants, and were glad to reach Deshima a week later. Nevertheless the interpreters pressed Camphuys to give the islanders a large reward for the somewhat pinched hospitality they had shown the Dutchmen, and suggested that 30 gold kobans would meet the case. As a result of continued importunity the Hollanders finally sent 15 gold kobans,—most of which presumably stuck in the interpreters' fingers. Subsequent efforts to obtain compensation from the Taiwan Chinese in Nagasaki proved in vain, as the Japanese officials refused to interfere on behalf of the Dutch.⁽⁵⁰⁾

IV.—The Dutch at Deshima in 1673–4.

a. *The Visit of the "Return" to Nagasaki, (July-Sept. 1673).*

As previously narrated in the first section, the *Return*, *Experiment* and *Camel* had left Bantam for Taiwan and Japan on 20th June, 1672. The details of the voyage to Taiwan and of their doings there, are fully narrated in the letter of Captain Limbrey, which is printed in full in Appendix A, so need not be repeated here. It will suffice to say that owing to the difficulties encountered in Formosa, they missed the monsoon for Japan, and could only collect enough cargo to send one ship to

(49) *Idem* p 354. Camphuys, as a result of the "shameful and deplorable treatment" he had experienced in Japan in 1672, was given a seat in the Council of Justice at Batavia by way of compensation. On July 9th, 1673, it was further decided that, "In order to make up for the extraordinary expenses incurred by the Directors in Japan, and to induce them to make greater efforts to suppress smuggling, it is therefore resolved to grant them a fixed salary of 100 guilders a month, and a seat in the worshipful council of Justice here." (Letter of Governor-General 13/11/1673, and Batavian *Dagb-Register*, July 9th, 1673).

(50) MSS. *Dagb-Register* of Deshima for 1672, under 20th and 27th, August. *Idem.*, 1673, *passim*.


Nagasaki. The *Return* was selected to take this, and she wintered in the Pescadores, whilst her two consorts returned for Bantam, but were both taken by the Dutch, as described in the previous section.

Meanwhile the Dutch ships which had left Batavia for Japan a few days before the departure of the English from Bantam, had brought the news of their intended voyage to Nagasaki. The first Dutch ship reached Deshima on 11th August and she carried letters from the Batavian authorities detailing the doings of La Haye and Caron in India, and of the preparations of the *Return* and *Experiment*. The Hollanders lost no time in informing the Japanese officials of this news, and these tidings were immediately forwarded to Yedo by the Bugyō, who likewise wrote to the Kyūshū Daimiō telling them to hold their samurai in readiness for events. The Dutch now repeated the information they had given the Bakufu nine years before, respecting the marriage of Charles II with Catherine of Braganza, and lost no opportunity of impressing this fact on the officials.⁽⁵¹⁾ The monsoon passed without the *Return* or her consorts putting in an appearance, but it was learnt from Chinese junks that the former vessel would winter in Taiwan and come the next year, possibly in company with a vessel from Tonquin. Meanwhile the Dutch and Japanese had to possess their souls in patience. The former were writhing under the imposition of the *Taxatie Handel* or *Shihō Shōbai*, and their tempers were not improved by the Bugyō's statement that one reason for this innovation was to prevent Jan Compagnie from becoming too rich, lest the English and French might be tempted to open trade relations with Japan. Evidently someone amongst the officials possessed a sense of humour.

Martinus Caesar had come with the ships in the autumn of 1672, to take Camphuys' place as *opperhoofd* of Deshima; he was thus the Director of the Dutch trade when the *Return* hove in sight off Nagasaki on July 9th, 1673.⁽⁵²⁾ The visit of the *Return* to Nagasaki has been described in full from both English and Japanese sources many times before now.

(51) The foregoing is derived from the MSS. *Deshima Dagh-Register* of 1672 (under August 11th, 15th and 17th).

(52) Valentyn describes him as "a man of uncommon ability, as he particularly proved here, for which reason he was sent hither thrice." That he had a sharp tongue and a ready wit—besides no great fondness for the Japanese—will be obvious to anyone who reads the extracts from his diary printed here. He was the son of Cornelis Caesar, born at Goes in Zeeland, who had been Governor of Taiwan 1653-1656. Martinus was *opperhoofd* in Japan in 1670-1, for the first time. He died at Batavia in November, 1679. It should be observed here that from 1641 until 1782, the *opperhoofden* had to be changed annually. Their tour lasted from October of one year till October of the next. The sale was conducted by the retiring *opperhoofd* who left for Batavia soon after its completion, and after having handed over the reins to his successor.


 Dec 17. 1678. 29. Jan. 1679
 at the

• His day was the first day of weather, and it rained plentifully in the morning about eleven of the clock, coming before Taniquasay they came off to us, two or three boats full of Japan, and other of Dutch folk, they had a cargo of Venique, as long as he was here, and from whence we came, was answered ⁱⁿ in English and Dutch, and told ⁱⁿ in if we were English from Kamian they were not come aboard us but from Japan, both they refused us to come to an Anchor, to have some thing of our shells and firing of powder, we were complying to them, returning ashore about two leagues after there came nine boats from if there were as in it were two principal men one being called if Upe and if other if Shontary accompanied, if one Interpreter of Spanish, Venique, and if other of Spanish, Dutch, and all they gave us to remember of if we were entertained in if great faith, where being placed if Upe said by his Interpreter we were seen all questions.

[illegible]

PAGE OF THE JOURNAL OF THE RETURN JUNE 29TH
JULY 9TH 1673.

(From a contemporary copy in the India Office, London. The spelling differs from that of the version printed by Kaempfer and other writers, but the contents are the same.)

The original English account was first printed as an Appendix to the 1727 edition of Kaempfer's *History of Japan* and has frequently been reprinted since.⁽⁵³⁾ The Japanese version has also been published by Professor Murakami,⁽⁵⁴⁾ and agrees closely with the English narrative. To describe the *Return's* visit in full once again, would therefore be "tedious as an oft-told tale," and I have therefore contented myself with giving some interesting extracts from the unpublished *Deshima Dagh-Register* of Martinus Caesar, which give us the Dutch point of view. A comparison of this account with the English and Japanese sources quoted above will give the reader a complete idea of what took place, and it will be observed that,—with one important exception to be noted later,—they all agree very closely.

No sooner had the *Return* dropped anchor in the harbour, than a swarm of officials came on board. She was treated just like one of the ordinary Dutch ships, and the arms, ammunition, etc., removed. The usual mustering of the crew took place, accompanied by a string of questions,—both fatuous and otherwise. The officials were not satisfied with the preliminary examination and they therefore returned in the afternoon, accompanied by a Hollander of the Deshima Factory, Johannes de Paep. His account of what took place is printed in full in Appendix II *infra*. It agrees closely with the English version, except that it describes the English chief, Simon Delboe, as doing the act of *fumiye* or figure treading. No hint of such a thing occurs in the English account, but this might be explained either by the fact that they were ashamed of it, or else (as de Paep himself suggests) that they did not realise what they were doing, in the dim twilight. In any case, it is impossible to say definitely whether the English committed this act or not, and the reader can make up his own mind on the subject from a comparison of the contemporary sources previously cited.⁽⁵⁵⁾

(53) Most recently on pp. 70-81 of M. Paske-Smith's *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa*. Kōbe 1930. The original is in the India Office at London. O. C. 3902.

(54) in his edition of Cocks' *Diary*.

(55) It will be remembered that in the instructions for the *Crown* and *Bantam*, summarized in Section I, the Factors are told not to take any notice of any "papistical" relics, but to say they adored only the ever-living God. Also in the instructions for the *Return*, mention is made of the possibility of the Factors being forced to deny their faith. The Dutch are often accused of having done this figure-treading, and it has also been denied that they ever did so. The only instance I have found is that which occurred in 1704 to a party of two Hollanders, a Scot, an Englishman and a Belgian, who were wrecked off Satsuma on a voyage from the Manillas. They were carried to Nagasaki where (in the presence of the Dutch staff of Deshima) all six spat and trampled on the image, although one of the party at least, the Belgian Karel Van der Hagen, was a Catholic. (Valentyn *op. cit.* p. 157).

Next day (July 10th), Martinus Caesar told the Japanese officials of the results of de Paep's observations on board the *Return*, and the news he had gleaned from the English. He could not forbear, however, to exaggerate one item "for the advantage of the Honourable Company." This referred to the rumours that Delboe had told de Paep, about the attacks which the Taiwan Chinese were making on Tonquin and other junks bound for Japan. These rumours were swelled by Caesar,—at least by implication—into a threatened invasion of Japan by the "Coxinders," as the Taiwan Chinese were termed by the Europeans. It must be remembered that the Hollanders were very anxious to embroil the Chinese with the Japanese; they had been waging a desultory warfare against the "Coxinders," ever since the loss of Formosa in 1662, and furthermore they suffered keenly from the trade competition of these latter. The Japanese, however, were fully alive to the advantages of competition, and had no wish to exclude the Taiwan Chinese from Japan just to humour the Dutch. This hint of another Mongol Invasion was therefore not taken very seriously, especially as the English, when asked about it, disclaimed all knowledge of the matter.⁽⁵⁶⁾

On July 11th, the Hollanders were told to make room at Deshima for the English, who were to be allowed to live there till further orders came from Yedō. Caesar protested bitterly against this, but his protests were overruled, and he was compelled to allot three warehouses for use of the English.⁽⁵⁷⁾ It would appear that the Governor subsequently changed his mind, as the English never left their ship, and were not allowed to land. Meanwhile the letter from the Dutch prisoners at Taiwan, which the English had brought thence, was handed over to the Hollanders after the Japanese had been informed of the contents.⁽⁵⁸⁾

On July 16th, the interpreters came to Caesar, asking him for a description of the religions professed by the English, Dutch and Portuguese and the difference between them, to which he answered;—"That we and the English were reformed Christians who prayed to the Lord God alone, and to no one else; whilst on the contrary, the Portuguese and the French were Roman Catholics, or Papists as they were commonly called; these latter besides praying to God, also sought spiritual comfort from numerous Saints, in whose Honour they had many images made of wood, copper

(56) *Deshima Dagh-Register*, 1673, under July 10th. Cf. Paske-Smith p. 72.

(57) MS. *Deshima-Dagh Register*, 1673. July 11th.

(58) *Idem.* and English account. The letter is printed on p. 329-330 of the *Batavian Dagh-Register* 1673. This year the Japanese broke the seals of all Dutch letters and read them—or tried to—whereas in 1672 they had left them unopened.

or stone, in their Churches, and they prayed to those whom these images represented." Not being content with this, the interpreters asked for the names of some of the chief Saints, and were told "Sta. Maria, St. Francisco, St. Dominico, Juan Baptista, Antonio de Padua." After writing these names down, they took their leave.⁽⁵⁹⁾

On July 17th, two Dutch vessels arrived from Batavia bringing news of the outbreak of war with England and France and that "practically the whole of our beloved Fatherland had been captured by the French,—mainly through shameful treachery if rumour was to be believed."

Whilst the Hollanders were still busy reading the letters from Batavia, for news of the war, they were annoyed by the interpreters who came pestering them with questions as to why "the English had flown a flag with a cross in it yesterday and today; whether or not it was a Portuguese flag, and what difference there was between the English and Portuguese flags; I told them that the English had a cross in the four-square of their great flag, whilst the Portuguese had one diagonally across from the corners, in the middle of which they usually had an image of some kind of a Saint painted.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Not being able to grasp this thoroughly, they asked for a drawing thereof, which I gave them, together with a representation of the arms of the Prince of Orange. Several foolish questions⁽⁶¹⁾ were then asked about this; why we flew a flag of red, white and blue; and what was the origin thereof; how it happened that sometimes the red or blue in one ship's flag, was much darker or lighter than that in another's etc. All this I had to resign myself to answer with patience, although I had plenty of other things to attend to, until finally they left."⁽⁶²⁾

The Governor now sent orders to both the English and Dutch captains to forbear from hostilities in Japanese waters or in the open sea. The English, as the weaker party, naturally promised this readily enough, but the Hollanders made bitter protests against it. They were prepared to observe the peace in neutral Japanese waters, but they violently objected to giving the English a free pass to Bantam, "the more so since we have now been treacherously attacked three times within a few years, by this

(59) *Idem*. Cf. English Account, for similar questions put to them.

(60) This is rather curious, as the flag described here was not the proper Portuguese flag at all, but that of the Burgundian Cross or "ragged staff," which was the banner of the Spanish Netherlands, and more particularly that of the Dunkirk corsairs. The flag of the Portuguese in the Indies was usually the red Cross of Christ on a white ground.

(61) MSS. "*sottelycke vraagen*."

(62) *Deshima Dagh-Register* July 17-18, 1673.

English King.”⁽⁶³⁾ Eventually the Hollanders were compelled to sign under protest.

After this nothing of interest happened until the 7th August when the interpreters brought Caesar “the much hoped-for and expected tidings that the Emperor and the Councillors [Rōjū] had absolutely forbidden the English to come and trade with Japan, not only for the present but for the future : which news had been told to the Englishman who had shown himself greatly upset thereat.” They added that this decision was solely on account of the King being married with a Portuguese Princess,—“so it seems certain that the French who are of the same Religion as the Portuguese will never be permitted to trade here,”—and that the Bakufu at Yedo was very pleased with the behaviour of the Dutch, especially in warning them of the coming of the English and so forth. “I can only hope,” added the sceptical Caesar, “that this last is not merely one of their usual polite falsehoods.”⁽⁶⁴⁾

Shortly after this, the interpreters came to ask all about Java ; its situation, size, length, population and so forth, and also the situation of the Dutch and English in Bantam. These questions were renewed next day, and Caesar’s patience was sorely tried in giving them detailed answers.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Finally on the 6th September the *Return* set sail. The chief interpreter came to Deshima in the evening and told Caesar that,—“Outside the bay, in case the Englishman should try to play any tricks, the Governor had massed 100 large and 400–500 small boats, filled with soldiers and munitions ; all these men wore armour, and in order to conceal this they had a white kimono over the top ; each man had likewise a band round his head, and two swords at his side, so that if the Englishman had shown the least hostility, he would have been boarded and destroyed,—notwithstanding they were assured that he had neither powder nor shot on board the ship, as this was first given back to them when past the Papenberg.....” “From this foregoing narration,” writes Caesar sarcastically, “it can clearly be seen what boundless generosity, and how great a courage, infuses the hearts of this pig-headed nation,—over which fact I need not now discourse any more.”⁽⁶⁶⁾

(63) Caesar’s History was weaker than his indignation. The first Dutch war of 1653–4 was fought by Cromwell, and Charles II was blameless.

(64) *Idem.* 7th August.

(65) *Idem.* 7–8th August.

(66) *Idem.* 6th September. Caesar had another outburst on the occasion of the celebrated Suwa Matsuri or Suwa festival at Nagasaki on 27th October, and describes how they were compelled to watch “a lot of monkey play and juggling tricks, altho’ we had plenty of other business to attend to.”

After quitting Japan, the *Return* sailed to Macao, as she could not make Bantam without the risk—or rather certainty—of being taken by the Dutch squadron blockading that port. The Portuguese were not very pleased at her arrival, but she eventually secured some kind of a trade, and proceeded thence to Siam in 1674.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Peace having now been restored with Holland, from there she was consigned to Surat, and thence to England which she reached in 1675, when her Odyssey was ended at last.

The English accounts are unanimous in blaming the Dutch for the failure of the enterprise, but the opposition of the Hollanders was quite natural under the circumstances, and doubly justified by the war of 1672–4.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Had the English been in their place, they would have done exactly the same. In the seventeenth century—and no doubt today to some extent—all was fair in mercantile competition no less than in love and war. But on the other hand, I doubt if the views of the Dutch influenced the decision of the Bakufu to any great extent. They were resolved to keep the Empire as it was, for the maintenance of peace, and for the supremacy of the Tokugawa family. No opinions of merchants—the lowest class of mankind in their view—would have moved them very greatly, and had they been inclined to grant the English renewed trade, they would have done so in spite of the machinations of the Dutch to the contrary. This much is clearly proved by their protection of the Taiwan Chinese, against whom the Dutch fought and intrigued far more bitterly than against the English, but with no results whatever. In view of the situation in Japan at that period, the English attempt was foredoomed to failure, and therein lay the key to the position rather than in the hands of the traders at Deshima.

b. Troubles with the Japanese authorities.

The company's trade in these years began to show signs of the effect of the imposition of the *Taxatie Handel* or Shihō Shōbai in 1672, but the profits were still very respectable. In July, 1673, news reached Deshima of a great fire which had occurred at Kiōtō in the previous month; and Caesar wrote in his diary,—“I fear that this will prove a hindrance to the

(67) *Dagh-Register, Batavia, 1674*. Papers over the *Return's* stay at Macao are still preserved in the India Office, London. She had to lie some miles from the city at the Taipa anchorage in order not to arouse the suspicions of the Chinese.

(68) War had been declared by Charles II in March, 1672 on the flimsiest pretexts. The general wish in England then was “to shatter our proud foreign foes, and give Mynheer a bloody nose,” but on this occasion it was we who got the bloody nose, and peace was warmly welcomed by both sides in 1674.

Honourable Company in its forthcoming sales, which may the Lord God be mercifully pleased to forbid." One bright spot in the prospect was that the Taiwan Chinese were rumoured to be bent on attacking all Japan-bound Chinese and Tonquinese shipping; this would naturally have a good effect in reducing the fierce Chinese competition,—“which God grant” wrote Caesar in another spasm of piety.⁽¹⁾

On July 17th there arrived the first two ships of the year, *Nuyzenburgh* and *Laaren* with a total cargo of about fl. 472,370. Both of these ships were unladen within a few days. The Japanese wanted to make the Dutch sell the cargoes already received, without waiting for the arrival of the other ships. Caesar strongly protested against this and eventually had his way, being allowed to wait for the arrival of the next *opperhoofd*, Johannes Camphuys, before commencing the sale. The Governor, Okano Nagokuro, frankly admitted that he was a “greenhorn” in matters of trade, and deliberately left everything to be decided by the interpreters and the Nagasaki Municipality,—whose decisions, needless to say, were never unduly favourable for the Dutch. On the 31st July the news was broken to the Hollanders that the trade would be conducted in the same way as in the previous year, under the Shihō Shōbai.⁽²⁾

Caesar protested bitterly against this, but to no avail. The chief interpreter suggested that the best way of meeting this threat, was to send only two or three ships next year, instead of the usual six or seven. He pointed out that as long as the Hollanders came with so many ships, the Japanese could scarcely be expected to take their protestations that they were losing money very seriously. Caesar replied that the Company was far too honourable to do such a base thing as that; even tho’ badly treated, they would still turn the other cheek;—a shining contrast, as he pointed out, to the Taiwan Chinese, who (out of annoyance for the setbacks they had experienced in 1672) not only did not come to Japan at all this year, but robbed innocent junks bound thither.⁽³⁾ Actually, of course, Jan Compagnie was not so altruistic as Caesar made out. The real reason the Dutch continued to send many ships was that they badly needed the Japanese gold and copper,—especially in view of the war. It was more profitable for them to take away large cargoes at a (compara-

(1) This hope was not fulfilled. The Taiwan Chinese junks came, tho’ late in the year, at the end of September. They brought with them some Japanese who had been shipwrecked on Formosa, and who were at once thrown into prison at Nagasaki for transgressing the law against leaving the country.

(2) *Deshima Dagb-Register*, 1673.—July 31st.

(3) *Idem*.

tively) small profit than to export small cargoes at a large profit, since the real gains of the Japan trade were derived from the money made on disposing of the gold and copper in India.⁽⁴⁾

On the 6th of August the chief interpreter came to Deshima and told Caesar that there was a difference of opinion amongst the merchants about the way of conducting the trade. Those of Ōsaka, Kiōtō, Sakai and Yedo had petitioned the Bugyō that it might be conducted as last year, under the Shihō Shōbai. The Nagasaki municipality, on the other hand, had (so he said) requested that the foreigners should be allowed to sell their goods at high prices. They argued that in such a case, both Chinese and Hollanders would return the next year with great quantities of goods thereby lowering the prices; if, on the other hand, the 1672 system was continued, then they would come with only a very few ships, hence causing a general rise in prices and the ruin of Nagasaki. The Governor forwarded the petitions to Yedo for a decision.⁽⁵⁾ On September 14th the Dutch drew up a petition asking for the abolition of the Shihō Shōbai, and the lowering of the price of the gold koban.

In consequence of the war 1672-4, there was a shortage of silver money (usually exported from Europe) at Batavia, and consequently the Governor-General on 22nd April, 1673 issued a proclamation, authorising the use of Japanese gold kobans as legal tender, at a rate of *circa* nine rix-dollars to one koban.⁽⁶⁾ Naturally the demand for kobans at Nagasaki was greater than ever as a result of this step, and the Dutch made strenuous efforts to get the price lowered, but without avail. Their petition had been drawn up with the advice and sanction of the Daikwan, Heizo, ('Phesodonna' the Dutch called him), but its presentation was postponed till the arrival of Camphuys. Meantime the Japanese put the Hollanders in rather an awkward position, by making repeated inquiries as to the price obtained by them for the kobans they exported to Java, Indo-China and India. Caesar at first tried to put them off with evasive answers, but eventually he had to confess that, although the koban was usually sold as merchandise and not circulated as money, yet it fetched *circa* nine rix-dollars at Batavia, 17-18 in Bengal and on the Coromandel coast "something rather more." After this, it is not very surprising that the

(4) Cf. remarks on imports and exports in Section II.

(5) *Idem*. 6th August. Another entry about this time gives us a glimpse of XVIIth century Japanese justice.—"Today [21st July] three incendiaries were executed, as well as a small boy of six years old who was the oldest son of one of these three; two of them were crucified, including the father of this child, the other one and the child being beheaded. Before that the father was crucified, his little son was executed in front of his eyes."

(6) *Dagh-Register van't Casteel Batavia, Anno 1673*, under 14th March and 22nd April.

Japanese took no further notice of the request for a reduction of the price.⁽⁷⁾

Meanwhile, on August 16th, the *Experiment* had arrived from Siam with a cargo worth fl. 123,608. She was followed by the *Beemster* and *Spaanbroek* carrying the new *opperhoofd*, Camphuys, and a cargo of fl. 675,962. They brought news of the loss of the provinces of Gelderland, Utrecht, and Overijssel to the French invaders of Holland, and of the "Coxinder's" piracies in the China seas on junks bound for Japan.⁽⁸⁾

On 26th August, news arrived from Yedo that the Shihō Shōbai instituted in 1672 was to be continued, and that the Hollanders must sell their goods at the prices put on them by the mercantile "ring" of the five Shogunal Towns.⁽⁹⁾ On September 13th, the official appraisers came with the interpreters to obtain samples of all the Dutch goods with a view to fixing the price at which they were to be sold. The Daikwan also came along to purchase musk on behalf of the Rōjū, which after a great deal of haggling he bought at two taels the *catti* below the market price. "But," observes Caesar, "it seems that the Japanese have finally laid aside all sense of honour and decency, whilst we perforce must dance to their piping in everything." However, he got Heizo to promise to intercede with the Bugyō to allow the Dutch to sell their goods a little higher than at the price fixed by the appraisers. A similar promise was obtained from the four machitoshiyori or Mayors of Nagasaki, after these had been duly entertained at Deshima with "a banquet, red wine and distilled waters."

On September 15th, the interpreters came with news of the prices fixed on the goods by the official appraisers. They were found to be about as bad as the previous year's, and the interpreters informed Caesar that no appeal could be made against them, but that the Dutch were at liberty to take away their goods if they did not like them,— "which was bitter for us to hear." Caesar therefore accepted the prices under protest, but asked the machitoshiyori to use their influence with the Bugyō to get better prices for the next lot of goods to be sold, which they consented to do. Next day Heizo returned, saying that as a result of his intercession with the Governor, this functionary had consented to allow the ray-skins to be sold at 35 taels the 100, instead

(7) *Dagli-Register, Deshima*, 1673. August 20 and 21st.

(8) *Idem*. August 16th. The last ship of the year the *Buren* (or *Buiren*) arrived on Sept. 1st.

(9) Yedo, Kiōtō, Ōsaka, Sakai and Nagasaki.

of 27 taels as had previously been arranged.⁽¹⁰⁾

The remaining sales were fixed for October, and the prices were likewise decided on the above system, "so that the Company's costly cargoes are sold to the great advantage of the Governor and to the great disadvantage of the Company." On the 19th Caesar was told to bring the annual presents for the Nagasaki Bugyō, Daikwan, and other officials at eight o'clock on the following morning. Hereon his indignation exploded, and he wrote in his diary "it seems they cannot get their presents quick enough . . . and one can rightly say that the old Honour of the Japanese has in these times sunk into a shameless greed." Next day accordingly the Hollanders went the rounds with their presents. "The Governor accepted his saying it was a fine day, and when we got outside, his Secretary congratulated us on the fact that his master had been so kind (whereas on the contrary he had looked as black as thunder)."⁽¹¹⁾

On September 26th, the second show-day was held, and prices fixed for the goods to be sold at the second sale. These proved to be as low as those fixed for the first lot of goods, although "the silk was all of the best quality and worth much more than the last lot sold; which clearly shows that the goods are not priced according to their worth or value, but simply according to the Governor's caprice." Direct protests were forbidden, and indirect advances through the Nagasaki toshiyori were of no more avail as the Bugyō said that he had orders from Yedo to appraise the goods at the same rate as in 1672.

That the results after all were not so damaging to the Dutch, will be seen from a perusal of Appendix IV *infra*; although when the six vessels which left Nagasaki on October 29th arrived in Batavia a month later with a cargo of nearly two and a half million florins, the Chronicler observed that there was a profit of "only 65 per cent."⁽¹²⁾ Next year, however, the Dutch really did begin to feel the pinch, and had something to complain about. The six ships which went to Nagasaki in that year brought back Camphuys with news of the "bad trade, and the outrageous exactions of the Governor and interpreters, theft of goods and other similar

(10) On this date Caesar gave the interpreters a drawing of a *tsuba*, or sword-guard, which a Governor in Tonquin wanted made in Japan. The Bugyō considered that it came within the category of arms, the export of which was strictly forbidden, so refused to allow it to be made. I only insert this here as it throws an interesting sidelight on the renown which the Japanese sword-smiths and metal workers enjoyed throughout Asia.

(11) *Deshima Dagh-Register*, September 20th, 1673.

(12) *Batavian Dagh-Register* 1673 under November 28th.

unbearable things against which we had no remedy.”⁽¹³⁾ The result was that the profits had dwindled to 30 per cent and threatened to go still lower. The definite decline of the Dutch trade had in fact begun, but although the huge profits were things of the past, the commerce still continued to be profitable for many years; Jan Compagnie might—and did—complain, but he never carried out his threat of abandoning Deshima, and this in the long run proved to be to the lasting advantage of both nations.

(13) *Batavian Dag-Register* 1674, December 5th and 8th. This thieving was a standing grievance with the Hollanders. It reached its climax in these years. In the 1672 *Dag-Register*, we read how the Dutch set a trap to catch the thieves, with some of their own sailors in ambush. They caught the robbers red-handed, and a free-for-all fight ensued in which several on both sides were laid out for dead, and most of the participants covered with blood. Amongst the former was one of the unfortunate survivors from the *Cuylenburgh*, who had just reached Nagasaki after a voyage of 18 days in an open boat. Another was a “simple boy” (nationality unspecified) who was half-killed with a blow on the back of the head as he was looking on. As a result of this fracas six Hollanders were arrested, and only released after a great deal of trouble, and having suffered the indignity of having their hands bound. In 1673 the situation was little better, and it reached its height in 1674.

*India Office, London.**O. C. 3852. [-1°**1673] [Vol.: 34]**Letter of Captain Limbrey on trade in**Taiwan 1672*

Honourable Sir,

Amidst a flood of miseries it is more then a drop of consolation to meet with some opportunity of presenting my service, and communicateing some thoughts to my friends amongst whom if I make bold to please [=place] your Honr, I hope it will be thought no presumption. I question not but you will receive fuller and better Account of affaires in these parts from other hands, then I can give you, for indeed I am in a very bad capacity to write, being newly recovered of that dangerous and devouring disease of A flux and feavour with which I lay struggling a whole month, in a desperate Condition, but God hath been pleased yet to lengthen out my time, and I hope he hath designed it in mercie to mee, and that all my sufferings and losses will thro his providence and fartherly goodness prove medicinall and advantageous to mee in the end.

However I shall trouble your Honr: with a short and cursory Acct of the unhappy Japan voyage (though without trouble to myself I cannot relate it). On the 10th June 1672 I set saile in company with ye *Returne* and a small jonk⁽¹⁾ from Bantam, and it pleased God to bless us with a prosperous passage to Tywan where we arrived the 16 July following; yet in this world all prosperity has its alloy, and in our said passage wee had our affliction in the loss of Mr. David Stephens (the Intended Chiefe for Japan) who died the 29th June, hee had complayned for three dayes of some Indisposition but was struck with death (being taken speechless with strange convulsions all over his body) before wee could perceive him to be [ill]. Through some unhappy animosities that sprung up after his death; but I forbare to reflect upon them, all new designes have their difficulties and fates that attend them and with many such we found ours incumbred, we Anchored at first in the S. Road of Tywan; a very bad road not a place to doe any buisness in which was a sad occation of the loss of much time—being a weeke before our Letters went ashoare and a weeke more before wee heard from Mr. Delboe

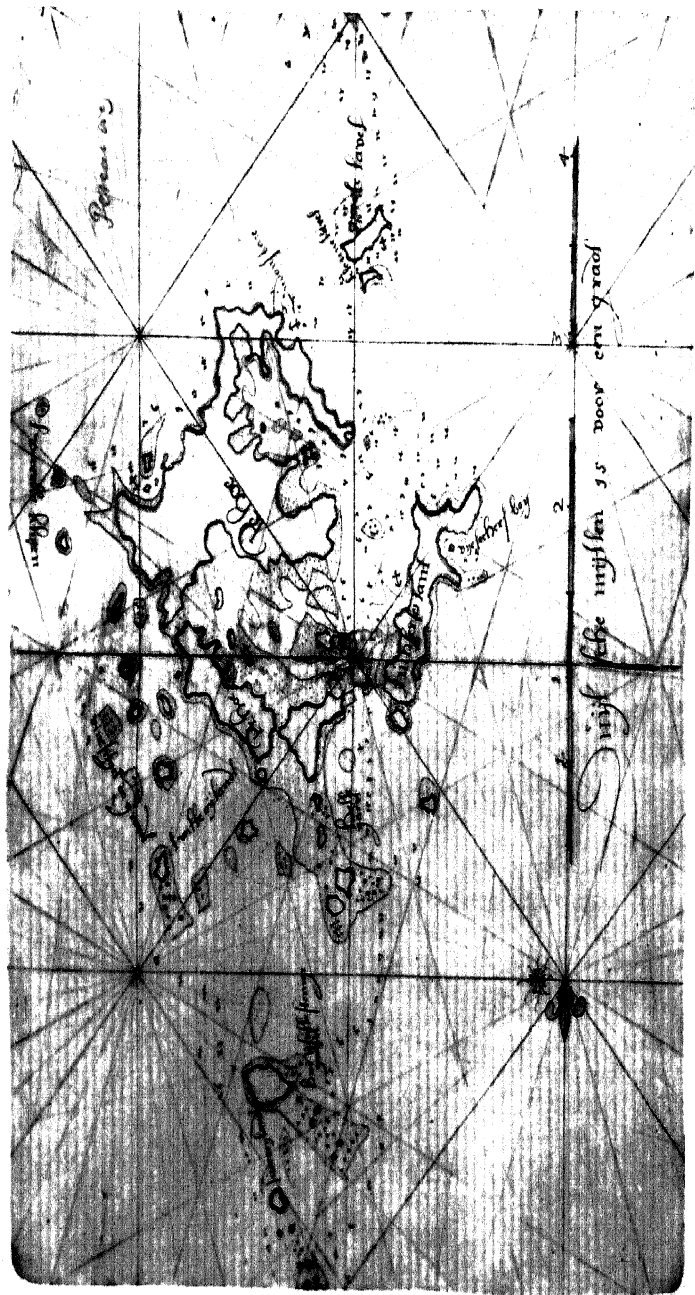
(x) i.e. The *Camel* which was destined to pilot them to Taiwan and Japan. 10th of June was O. S. date. N. S. date 20th.

that went ashoare (who succeeded Mr. Stephens in the cheife ship for Japan). The King of Tywan⁽²⁾ gave him a splendid reception and his Cheife Minister of State was not wanting to complement him with many Expressions of Kindness; all this ffortnights time wee lay in danger of loosing our ship every day through the uncertainty of weather and insecurity of the Road, but wee were now ordered to goe to ye Piscadores 16 leagues from this place, haveing China Pilots sent of to us, and great hopes of a sudden dispatch, Mr. Delboe having procured juncks from the King to meet us their [*sic*], and to transport our goods to Tywan.

July 30 wee set saile and the 3d August got into the harbour Pekou a very safe and secure harbour, but it was the 10th before Mr. Delboe arrived with two smale juncks, haveing a promise of 3 great joncks more to follow, which arrived the 12 ditto, but they were to hall ashore and trime before they would take in any goods, so that it was the 21 of this August before they were laden. Thus did time runne away to the ruine of our maine designe, and the 5 or 6 days proposed at Bantam for dispatch of affaires here amounted to soe many weekes and now Mr. Delboe and ye Councell taking into considerations the lateness of ye yeare, and ye moonsoon's near expirations, our voyage to Japan was concluded unfeasible, and it was resolved that wee should continue in the Harbour till next Monsoones; the Company had recd: strange information of this place, as if all the Sugar and Skinns which the Island affords considerable quantities off, would bee at their devotion, but wee found otherwise of it, and doe admire with what reason any man could dreame of such a thing, for the King of Tywan ingrose all those comodities to his pticular use, with which he drives an advantagious trade to Japan, sending yearly 14 or 15 juncks; whereas wee thought to fill our ships with these comodities, wee could not procure soe much Sugar as for the necessary provision of the ship, and this brought into consideration another weighty business which was this. The Councell supposing our ship sufficient to transport the Japan cargo, were willing to dismiss one ship to save charges and made an offer to the *Experiment* to goe to Japan, but upon a strickt examination of ye Cargo, being in cerca 300 tunns it was to much for her to take in, soe it fell to the *Returne's* lot to weight one⁽³⁾ that designe and the

(2) Cheng Ching, son of the great Cheng Kung, or Koxinga as he was called by the Europeans. Koxinga had died soon after his conquest of the island in 1662, and was succeeded by his son, whom the Dutch and English likewise called Koxinga.

(3) wait on.



DUTCH CHART OF THE PESCADORES, CIRCA 1663.

(Size 35 × 40 cm. Scale = 1 : 150,000. From the *Journal of Michiel Gerritsz Boos in the Rijksarchief, the Hague.*)

Experiment was intended for the Coast and home; these affaires thus settled I must returne to give an account of the 3 juncks on one of which Mr. Delboe tooke passage for Tywan, and sailed the 22d August out of this harbour with very faire weather, but this night arose a very great storme at N^o and N^o b. W. in which one of the juncks that had the better part of the Tywan cargo in her, was lost on a sand nere Tywan and little or nothing of those goods ever Recovered.

Now all the Business that lay before me was to gitt the *Experiment* in a readiness to saile, which was soone done, by getting our water and ballance⁽⁴⁾ on board, expecting orders every day to saile to the Coast,⁽⁵⁾ but wee lay long in a languishing condition without any newes or orders what to doe.

From the latter end of August wee had smale winds northerly and calmes to the 20th September when the monsoones set in with great violence, haeving continuall stormes soo that I could not imagine what the Issue of it would be when I considered the great Elapse of time and Eminent hazard of looseing our voyage to the Coast. October 4th ye evening (proveing indifferent good weather) Mr. Baron, Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Ramsden (all of the Councell) tooke passage on a small junck to Tywan resolving our dispatch. Ditto the 5th wee recd: letters from Tywan, but had not one lyne in Relation to our Dispatch or any notice what goods I might expect. These letters informed us of a said [sad] disaster befallen a Dutch ship bound for Japan that was cast away about Kelang (a Garrison belonging to the King of Tywan on the N^o end of Formosa) the men some say to bee drowned, some killed and some escaped in their boats and got to Japan, but the whole cargo was made a prey to those devouring Harpers,⁽⁶⁾ she was richly laden and some of her goods⁽⁷⁾ . . . Thr^o the Extremitie of the weather wee were still hindred from those advises wee longed for from Tywan till the 22d October, when arrived two great juncks of the Kings bringing us 311 chests of Copper, and orders to saile for the North Road of Tywan to receive dispatches there for Bantam, their thoughts of sending us to the coast being altdred by Reason of the great loss of time wee had suffered, and for other reasons best knowne to themselves; the *Experiment* had been many daies ready to saile and

(4) ballast.

(5) Coast of Coromandel.

(6) Harpies. This refers to the loss of the *Cuylenburgh*, described in full in Section II of this present work.

(7) apparently some words are missing here as the context makes no sense.

this copper was soone taken in, but then the Northern stormes set in soe violently againe, that it was impossible for us to gett out of the harbour till the 12 November when it pleased God to send us a faire day or two (otherwise ye danger of going to the N^o Road had been very great) soe got under saile and arrived at said N^o Road the 13 in the afternoone; wee tooke in about 114 chests more of copper, some 70 Pecull of allhune⁽⁸⁾ and a few cannesters of China Roots with a present from the King to the Company.

Before I leave this place I shall make bold to give your Honour some Account thereof, according to my slender abilitie and small experience haveing never set my foot ashoare, wherein if your Honr: meet with some tautologies I beg your pardon for it; and first I shall begin with that which most concerns mee in relation to my imploymnt, by given mee⁽⁹⁾ to understand something of the roads and harbours belonging to this place; the S^o Road is very insecure and dangerous and not to be trusted but in case of necessity, for business is dispatched in it as before hinted and the N^o Road is some what better and is soe called because ships ride in it only in the N^o monsoone, and for the like reason the S^o Road is so denominated; here is smooth water and goods may bee laden and taken on board waiting opportunities of weather, but the Dutch had ships forced out of it by the extreimity of weather and have lost severall ships in these Roades; as I have been informed the harbour of Pehou is a very safe place to ride in, but the distance of it from Tywan breeds great inconveniences, and the uncertainty of weather in these parts is such that noe one can rationally propound or fix any time for dispatch of the least business here; and had wee been rightly informed before of these things, wee had certainly avoyded much of these miseries that have befallen us and not have been disapointed of our Japan voyage.

The people are generally poore and discontented and kept in subjection by a high hand; they came here with a numerous Armie only with swords in their hands to conquer, and mouths to devour other men's labour,⁽¹⁰⁾ which has occasioned all provisions to be very deare but time may mend this; the King is the only Merchant and with the comodities of this place, and some few China goods as silks etc. divers⁽¹¹⁾ a

(8) alum.

(9) *i. e.* giving you ⁽⁹⁾.

(10) This refers to Koxinga's invasion of Formosa and the capture of Fort Zeelandia from the Dutch in 1661-2. Cf. my article in *Trans. Jap. Soc.*; London 1927. Vol. XXIV.

(11) should be 'drives.'

profitable trade to Japan which furnishes him with money to maintaine his Armie, and is the best prop of his Kingdome, so that there is little hopes of shareing with him in these comodities, though I understand before our comeing away that he had by Articles promised a third part of them to the Compy at the price Qurr:(¹²) but that generous termes makes it a dubious contract and such is the treachery and baseness of these Chineses that I feare this agreement will evaporate and come to nothing ; they have some small trade to Cochin China, Cambogia and of late to Manilas, but whither their trade to China (which is but a stolen trade) may improve so as to make the place worth the Company settling a ffactory at it, may well be suspected, being at present a sad markt ; if it should, I humbly conceive, the trade will be best managed by small vessells such as may goe over the Barr on which their is at present as I am informed 11 or 12 foote water.

November 19 in the morning we set saile, Mr. Peter Cooke who went on the *Experiment* to Tywan for the recovery of his health being on board us againe to returne for Bantam, but in a dying condition, being quit [sic] worne out with a consumption. the 21st we were of the Bay of Marran and the 28 at night fell thro' Aynam when it pleased God to take Mr. Peter Cooke out of this world, the next day wee made Jinkosa and soe went betweene the Pararel(¹³) and the Maine ; the 30 wee had sight of the Islands of Candore and Dec: 1st had sight of Pulo Timon, the 7 ditto wee entered the straits of Banca ; now grew neere that great danger which wee little suspected ; the 9 ditto wee had sight in the afternoone of eight ships lying in the narrowest of the straits, and proveing little wind wee came to an Anchor ; the next morning wee made them Dutch collors, and haveing noe notice or suspicion of a warr so soone againe with them, a little past none [noon] wee weighed, the streame setting to the S^o ward and towed our ship towards them ; and when [we] had past two or three of them, being surrounded with them, they began to fire at us, soe came to an anchor and sent our boates a board to know the Reason of it but they still continued firing at us, when being in the midst of them without a breath of wind to worke our ship, and all possibility of saving the ship being gone, were forced to yield to this miserable necessity ; it has bin the sting of all my troubles that I

(12) current(?).

(13) Paracelles.

should fall into such a condition as not to be able to make any defence of the ship, which had wee a gale of wind or sea-roume wee might have done; and circumstances quite alter and put a new fate upon all actions for being encompassed by a fleet, at an anchor, and noe wind to help us, all hopes were taken away and then the effect of a resistance had only amounted to the loss of many mens lives, with a dispare⁽¹⁴⁾ of any advantage, though I should have bin glad if God had seene it good for mee not to have outlived such a misfortune; 4 of these ships were together when the *Hambal* was taken, to which were added a Vice Admirall and two considerable men of warr more and one Merchant man in Company which made up the 8 ships aforesaid.⁽¹⁵⁾

Thus have I breifly descry [b] ed our troublesome voyage, with the last tragicall act of it; he is very ignorant and inexperienced in the world, who expects to live in it without trouble, seeing that man is bound to it as natuerall as sparks fly upwards, and all thing[s] here tend to corruption; not only p[ar]ticular men, but whole states and Kingdomes, and the whole world must have its finall desolution; ther is nothing but a Principle that overcomes the world can render a man unshaken amidst these revolutions and concussions. God (I hope) who hath kept my head above the water in such a sea of troubles, will confirme me to the end that my faith and trust in him as my Sheet-Anchor may never faile; but I feare least I should be tedious, and therefore I shall not trouble your Hon: much more, only shall add a few lynes conce[r]ning the *Zant* in whose story I cannot be very possitive, but according to my information please to accept it, she went to Tonqueene and left Mr. Gyffard etc: thereupon what termes I know not, she was desinged thence for Formosa and Japan but adventring late in the yeare met with great stormes and lost most or all ther masts and got in a sad condition to Maccau where she Refitted and intended for Bantam, and in her way fortunately touched at Jambee,⁽¹⁶⁾ where she was informed of a warr, and soe put without the straits of Banca and went to Japparra where said ship still lyes⁽¹⁷⁾ Capt: Parrick with severall of his officers and

(14) despair.

(15) a full account of the taking of the *Experiment* will be found in the *Batavia Dagh-Register* for 1672.

(16) Jambi in Sumatra.

(17) The *Zant* was blockaded in the harbour of Japara for over a year by the Dutch. She beat off one attack on her, and actually sunk one Dutch ship,—the *Stompneus*. Subsequently the Captain and most of the crew died, and this ship was eventually sold to the Rajah of Bantam in 1674 by the survivors.

seamen Died at [illegible] Captaine Collier lived not long after his misfortune, his Cheife and second Mates are dead also, and my two younger mates are dead and others of the *Experiment* men; who shall live to see better times God only knowes, wee are Prisoners of hope, God in due time send deliverance, a Peace would be a Resurrection to us, and I desire not soe much for my owne Interest as the welfare of our Nation, which certainly must be in danger when our Neighbours house is burning. I had almost forgott to tell one sad story, which is that the Jonck that went in Company with mee to Tywan returning back to Bantam was taken afore that Port, the Dutch lying with a constant fleet before said place. Mr. Barron was upon her and is now close prisoner in Batavia. I forebare all manner of newes to this place and the concerns thereof, for severall reasons, and shall not further trespass on your goodness. I have only more to present my humble service with due acknowledgment of all your former favours wishing you all the blessings of peace with increase of riches and honour and what soe ever transends these to make up a compleat happiness Sir I remaine

Your Honours most obliged Servant
Wm Limbrey

[P. S.]

This letter I shall deliver into the hands of Capt: Barnes visser, Commander of the *Gherichtighite*⁽¹⁸⁾ bound for Zeylone, who has promised (if it be not his lot to bring it to Suratt), to forward it to your hands; he is a person to whome I am extremely engaged for his great civilities to mee during my two months imprisonment on board his ship.

Bee pleased to give my due respects and service to Mr. Gray, Mr. James, Mr. Gyffard, Mr. Grigsby, Mr. Oxinden etc: Mr. Caspender and my brother Walter tender their humble service to your Honour.

From on board the *Free Sea*⁽¹⁹⁾ in Batavia road
September 16th, 1673.

(18) i. e. The *Gerechtigheyt*, skipper Barent Visscher, which sailed for Ceylon on Oct. 1st, 1673. (*Dagh-Register*: 1673).

(19) i. e. *Vrye Zee*. The writer of this letter, Captain Limbrey of the *Experiment*, was probably a relation of the Captain Limbrey who had promised to aid Charles II to escape to France from the Dorset port of Charmouth, when Charles was a refugee after the battle of Worcester. The gallant Captain's plans were spoiled by his wife who stole his breeches at the critical moment, thus preventing him from leaving his house.

[APPENDIX II]

*Rijksarchief, The
Hague. Japans
Daghregister,
(Archief Deshima).
1673. July*

*Extract from the MS. Dagh-Register of
Martinus Caesar, the opperhoofd, or
chief, at Deshima, 9th July 1673.*

Sunday.

News of a ship.

which is an English-
man.

9 d^o At about 8 o'clock in the morning received tidings from the Governor [Bugyō] that a Dutch ship had been sighted just off the shore, and at the same time received permission from His Honour to send one of our people to meet her. This was delayed by the dawdling of the Interpreters (through the rain and strong southwest wind) until the said ship came sailing into the bay, whereupon we immediately dispatched thither the under-merchant Adriaen Wichelhuysen and the assistant Pieter van der Vesten, with an advice-note, in order to collect the letters in the usual way. But before they had reached the first guard, I saw from my lodging that it was an English ship, with the flag at the main, and forthwith informed the interpreters who were with me of this fact. Shortly afterwards we heard him fire 17 shots, and then another twelve. The gentlemen who had gone out to meet her, on observing this, likewise informed the interpreters who were with them, and these at once rowed thither in a small boat. They made her anchor, and at the same time forbade further shooting; whereupon the two other small boats went alongside, without any of the Japanese—far less of ours—going on board, albeit they were several times requested to do so. Our people had not spoken with them, but whilst the Interpreter Kitsiseymon⁽¹⁾ asked them one thing and another, ours had gathered as follows;—that the ship was named the *Resorte* [Return], come from London whence she had sailed in J. C. 1671. She had been at Bantam, and then for 11 months in the Pescadores; she would have come here last year but for the fact that the monsoon had expired. She had come thence now in 16 days, having had many northerly winds at sea. Two of their frigates had been in Taiwan at the time of her stay, whence one had gone to Tonquin and the other to Bantam. They expected here any day another two ships direct from London; the master of this frigate was named John Acky;⁽²⁾ the ship was manned with 86 men; the

* (x) Kichiemon^(*).

(2) i.e. Atkins.

captain's name they had not heard, since he had not appeared on deck, likewise they had not heard for what purpose this ship had come here. These tidings sounded very strange to us. It seemed to me that the Japanese were somewhat perplexed. Time will show us what will come from all this.

Shortly after noon, the Interpreters came to tell me, We must send a on express order from the Governor, that one of our
Netherlander to Netherlands must go to the English ship with them,
the mustering in in order to carry out the examination, and to see
the English ship. whether all on board were Englishmen, or whether
they might not include some Portuguese or other
nationalities in their ranks,—all of which he was
truthfully to declare as he should find it. They had
been on board and mustered the crew; they could see
little difference between us and them, (so they said),
except that they could not understand them. Against
this order of the Governor, I tried to excuse myself (in
the presence of Messrs. Wichelhuysen and Beugholt)
with all kinds of civil reasons, but it was of no avail;
this was an express order of the Governor and must be
carried out,—the more so since I did not wish to give
him any reason for dissatisfaction with the Company.
Therefore (as being in a land of compulsion, where we
cannot help ourselves) we resolved to send with them
the assistant, Johannes de Paep, with orders to say and
to do nothing whatever except just what the Japanese
should order him; meantime he might inquire after the
men of the wrecked ship *Cuylenburgh*, and whether
any Chinese junks were expected to come hither
shortly.

The Interpreters told me that the cargo of the
English ships consisted of many woollen wares, such
as,—broad-cloth, cloth-rashees, perpetuanos, camlet
etc.; also quicksilver, vermilion, gallnuts, pepper,
benzoin, dye-wood, blood-coral, a few pelanghs,
gielangs and some linen.⁽³⁾ They had not brought a
thread of silk with them. Meanwhile four of the
Governor's buygōs⁽⁴⁾ came to me on the Governor's
behalf, with the following orders and questions;—
firstly, the Governor had ordered that a Hollander
must accompany them, to do everything which is
described above. Secondly, the English had made
known that they were of one and the same belief as the
Hollanders; also, as we had said, their King was
married with the daughter of Portugal, but they had as
yet gotten no children by each other. In order to test

(3) This was quite correct.

(4) strictly speaking, only the Governor was a Bugyō. His retainers were ordinary *hatemoto*, but they were often styled Bugyō by the Hollanders in order to flatter their vanity.

this statement of theirs, that they were of the same belief as us, the Governor had given them [*i. e.* the interpreters] a Papistical Holy image, which the English captain must tread on with his feet, like the Chinese coming here annually do; they had brought with them this image for that purpose.⁽⁵⁾ Thirdly, the English had said that they, like we, traded in Europe with those of France, Portugal etc; and I was asked whether this was so. Whereupon in order to avoid being subsequently accused of lying, or of concealing the truth, I answered on this wise, viz.,—that the inhabitants of our land, being merchants, certainly traded with England, France, Portugal etc., but that the Company itself had no dealings with any of these states whatsoever,—much less traded with them; neither did it do so with any European nation here in India. Being content with this answer, they arose, and thence proceeded on board of the Englishman, accompanied by the afore-mentioned de Paep.

They will be tested.
Concerning the trade in Europe.

Go on board with de Paep.

de Paep returns.

Reasons why the Taiwan Chinese attacked Japan-bound junks.

Late in the evening, long after the candles had been lit, the said de Paep rejoined us in the lodge, and reported as follows;—that he had been on board the English ship, and was first ordered to follow the Bugyōs and Interpreters to the great cabin; on coming there the Interpreter Itsirobe⁽⁶⁾ spoke with the English captain, and told him that they had brought with them a certain image which he would have to tread on with his feet, (this image, so far as he could see, represented the crucified Lord Jesus in the lap of Maria,)—whereon the English chief had answered that he would do to the contentment of the Japanese, all the commands that they would make known to him; but he, (de Paep), thought that the Englishman had not well understood what was said to him, because the said interpreter had used a somewhat strange way of speech. The English chief was asked by the said interpreter what were the reasons why the Taiwan Chinese made war on the junks trading to Japan. He had thereupon answered that the poor trade, and the bad treatment which they had experienced at the hands of the Japanese, were the reasons therefor. After a short rest, order was given to muster the crew, and he, de Paep, was told to ask each man his name, in English. Also whether they were English, or whether they could speak no Dutch or Portuguese. This was all minutely noted down, and as it was dusk by the time the mustering was over, the aforesaid image was laid down on a straw mat on

(5) This of course refers to the well known figure-treading, or *fumiye*, which has been so frequently described by ancient and modern writers on Japan

(6) *i. e.* Ichirobei.



FUMIYE OR PICTURE-TREADING PLATE.

(Reproduced from Dr. T. Nagayama's book "Album of Historical Materials connected with Foreign Intercourse," Nagasaki, 1918.)

the deck, and the said chief told to trample on it first with one foot, then with the other, and finally with both feet together, which was duly performed; but he, de Paep, thought that as it was dark the chief did not know what sort of a thing it was. After these doings, he disembarked from the ship.

Tidings gathered.

Although he had only a short time between his arrival on board and the mustering, yet he had gathered the following in answer to his questions;—The crew of the stranded ship *Cuylenburgh* had all been killed by the Chinese, and the goods from the ship carried to Hoksieuw [Fuchow]. The Netherlands in Taiwan were very badly treated; he, the English chief, had a letter from them to give to the resident Netherlands chief here.⁽⁷⁾ The Chinese said they would not evade the Company's ships, if they felt themselves strong enough, but they were chiefly bent on attacking the Tonquin junks bound for Japan. They had recaptured Amoy and Quemoy with their surrounding districts.

Holland and France were on the brink of war, but England would stand by Holland in everything, according to the terms of the offensive and defensive alliance.⁽⁸⁾ He had no news whatever of our expected ships.

He was sent hither expressly from England, in order to make an embassy to the Japanese Emperor [Shōgun]; this would have been done last year, but for the fact that he had been delayed so long in Taiwan and elsewhere, that the monsoon for getting here was past. He came now from Taiwan, and daily expected here another two ships from England.

He maintained that the English would probably leave Taiwan in the ensuing year, because they were very badly treated by the Chinese there. So far as he had understood, the Chinese were resolved to damage the Japanese in all ways they could think of, and might even launch an attack next year; but this was only a rumour amongst the common people.

Questions asked by
the Englishman.

After this he, the English chief, had asked him, de Paep, that while the Chinese had complained so bitterly over the bad trade, how it had fared with the Company's trade in the past few years; what the cargo of the *Cuylenburgh* really was, and how many ships had been here the last year. Whereon he had

(7) This letter, which makes very pathetic reading, is printed on p. 84 of the 1673 *Batavia Dag-Register*. It is signed by 11 men and women. These wretched captives had been prisoners in Taiwan ever since Koxinga's invasion in 1661-2. The survivors were released on the Tartar conquest of the island in 1683 and sent to Batavia via Siam.

(8) Actually, of course, England joined France in declaring war on Holland in March, 1762.

answered that the conditions of trade varied from year to year, and that two years ago it had been far more profitable than now; he did not know exactly what the cargo of the *Cuylenburgh* was, but estimated it at one and a half tons of gold; ⁽⁹⁾ six ⁽¹⁰⁾ ship had come here last year, excluding *Cuylenburgh*.

de Paep's opinion about the muster. On board the said English ship, he had found many who knew Dutch, and doubted whether there were not three or four born Netherlanders amongst them; he had an idea he had seen some of them before.

[APPENDIX III]

*Dagh-Register van 't
Casteel Batavia
Anno 1672.*

*List of goods imported by the Dutch to
Japan in 1672-4.*

A. 1672

In the *Pynacker*.

(17th June)

1,459 lbs. of quicksilver.
300 packages of Bengal silk.
7,500 cattis of Tonquin silk in 150 packages.
1,650 piculs of soumongyns⁽¹⁾ in 33 packages.
800 rolls of pelangs⁽¹⁾ in 2 chests.
3,750 lbs. Florette yarn⁽¹⁾ in 26 packages.
144½ lbs. of Camphor Baros.⁽²⁾
217 packages of assorted serges.
1 chest with 100 rolls of Bengal Armosins.⁽¹⁾
1,235 lbs. of cloves.
51,330 cattis of pepper.
71,193 lbs. of Siamese dyewood.
300 gunny bags.
436 Japara⁽³⁾ buffalo-hides.
19,224 lbs. Bengal powder sugar.
25 rolls of sample Bengal armosins.⁽¹⁾
12 rolls of satins.
1 lacquered cabinet for sample.
60 glass bottles.
100 kiate planks.
50 jaty⁽⁴⁾ props.

(9) *i. e.* 150,000 guilders. Actually she was worth 209,056 guilders. Cf. Appendix III.

(10) Really seven. Cf. Appendix III.

(1) all different kinds of silk piece-goods,—mostly of Tonquinese origin. Cf. Kaempfer Vol I. p. 352.

(2) sometimes called 'camphire Borneo' in English records. Obtained from Sumatra and Borneo.

(3) Town on the N. Coast of Java. The Dutch drew large supplies of timber, hides, etc. from the surrounding district.

(4) Javanese teak. Kiate is another kind of Javanese wood.

- 4 barrels of mom.⁽⁵⁾
- 3 barrels of butter.
- 3½ awms of oil.
- 5 ditto red wine.
- 4 ditto brandy.
- 1 box with 53 spectacles.
- 15 hanging locks.
- 1 chest with writing materials.
- 1 chest of medicines.
- 1 ditto of oils.

Total fl: 324,336: 6: 10.

In the *Beemster*.

(17th June)

- 2 chests of broadcloth.
- 3 chests of cloth-rashees.
- 1,916 lbs. of quicksilver in 26 chests.
- 43,508 lbs. of Bengal silk in 298 bales.
- 7,712½ cattis Tonquin silk in 155 bales.
- 198 packages of assorted serges.
- 165½ lbs: of camphor Baros.
- 1,000 glass bottles in a chest.
- 600 rolls of sumongyns in 12 packages.
- 24 packes of Florette yarn,—or 3,504 lbs.
- 151,666 lbs: of Bengal powdered sugar.
- 53,610 cattis of pepper.
- 50,807 lbs of Siamese dyewood.
- 11,425 lbs of gumlac.
- 6 troughs planted with medicinal herbs.
- 1,105 jaty planks and 50 timber ramps.

Total fl: 282,589: 9: 5.

In the *Stermeer*.

(17th June)

- 4 chests of broadcloth.
- 3 ditto of cloth-rashees.
- 2,121¼ lbs: of quicksilver in 30 chests.
- 249 bales of Bengal silk.
- 10,855 lbs: of Tonquin silk.
- 1,000 lbs: of soumongyns in 20 packs.
- 175 packages assorted serges.
- 4,672 lbs: of Florette yarn.
- 125 lbs: of camphor Baros.
- 2,005 lbs. of gumlac.
- 7,213 lbs. of namrak.⁽⁶⁾
- 178,829 lbs: of Bengal powdered sugar.
- 6,000 ray-skins in 20 packages.
- 15 lbs: of Bengal cassia for a trial.
- 6,747 cattis of sittauw.⁽⁶⁾

(5) a kind of beer.

(6) unidentified.

58,565 lbs : of Siamese dyewood.
 70,220 cattis of pepper.
 3,140 lbs : of rompen.⁽⁶⁾
 1,096 Japara buffalo-hides.
 60 kiaty planks and 50 timber ramps.
 1 chest with writing materials.
 6 square troughs with medicinal herbs.
Total fl : 322,817 : 4 : 8.

In *Kuylenburgh*. (wrecked off Formosa 2/8/72).

(17th June)

1,604 lbs : of vermillion and 50 lbs : ground d°.
 113 packages of assorted serges.
 5 ditto of cotton yarn, or 800 lbs.
 4,200 ray-skins.⁽⁷⁾
 1,496 Tonquin Hockims.⁽⁸⁾
 200 bhasen.⁽⁹⁾
 16,400 cattis Tonquin silk.
 4,620 9/10 lbs : Bengal silk.
 2,400 lbs : of superfine cotton.
 1,314 lbs : of Florette yarn.
 120 lbs : of camphor Baros.
 24,400 lbs : of Siamese dyewood.
 53 packages of sittauw.⁽⁶⁾
 6,166 lbs : of cloves.
 3,048 lbs : of plain rompen.⁽⁶⁾
 5,0168 cattis of pepper.
 24,410 lbs : of sandal wood.
 13,110 lbs : of Putchuk.⁽¹⁰⁾
 27,051 lbs : of tin.
 7,790 Siamese deer-skins.
 645 cow and buffalo hides.
 420 antelope horns.
 2,001 lbs : of Rosmal,⁽¹¹⁾ and 3 prospective glasses.
 104,448 lbs : of assorted powdered sugars.
 15 hanging locks.
 50 timber ramps.
 1 chest with stone retorts.
Total fl : 209,056 : 2 : 13.

In *Udam*.

(17th June)

1,439 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs : quicksilver.
 34,331 lbs : of Bengal silk.

(6) unidentified.

(7) this ray skin (*Rhinobatus Armatus*) was greatly used in binding the hilts of *katana* and other Japanese swords. The Japanese name for it is *samé*.

(8) silk piece-goods.

(9) unidentified, but probably some sort of silk piece goods.

(10) Root of the costus tree ; medicinal herb used as a tonic.

(11) or *Storax Liquida*. (Kaempfer. p 353.)

4,885 $\frac{3}{4}$ cattis of Tonquin silk.
 1,250 rolls of sumongyns.
 1,200 rolls of pelangs.
 124 lbs : of Camphor Baros.
 1,235 lbs : of cloves.
 51,205 cattis of pepper.
 74 packages of assorted serges.
 1 chest of Bengal armosins.
 300 gunny sacks.
 63,435 lbs : of Siamese sandal wood.
 190,603 lbs : of Bengal powdered-sugar.
 100 kiate planks and 1 moerbalk.⁽¹²⁾
 5 wood troughs with medicinal herbs.
 50 timber ramps, some sailcloth etc :
Total fl : 269,114 : 12 :—

In the fluytship *Buren*.

(13th July)^{*}

87,100 cattis of pepper.
 13,765 lbs : of sandalwood.
 16,650 lbs : of cassia.
 6,960 lbs : of borax.
 233 bales or 34,018 lbs : of Bengal silk.
 5,100 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs : of quicksilver in 67 cases.
 47,636 lbs : of powdered sugar.
 562 Japara Buffalo-hides.
 345 lbs : of seed lac.
 4 chests containing 59 rolls cloth-rashees.
 850 lbs : of vermilion.
 220 lbs : of camphor Baros.
 19 packages, containing 5,700 piculs of ray skins.
 156 packages of assorted serges.
 21 packages of 3,360 lbs : of cotton yarn.
 7,950 lbs : of superfine cotton in 53 bales.
 133 packages of sittauw.
 3 chests with 274 basen.
 1,000 piculs of sumongyns in 20 packs.
 2 chests of soap.
 54,680 lbs : of alum.
 50 timber ramps.
Total fl : 242,628 : 7 : 6.

In the yacht *Voorhout*

(13th July)

3 chests of broadcloth.
 36 cattis of camphor Baros.
 2,034 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs : of quicksilver.
 17,659 lbs : of candy sugar.
 2,392 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs : of sweet-wood.
 42 packages of assorted serges.

(12) unidentified, but some kind of ship's gear is meant.

2 packages of Bengal silk.
 6,000 lbs : of refined cotton in 50 bales.
 100 packages of sittauw.
 5,520 lbs : of Putchuk in 20 bales.
 31,240 cattis of pepper.
 1,500 bundles of paddy and 50 timber ramps.
Total fl : 39,255 : 13 : 7.

In the fluyt *Spanbroeck*.

(13th July)

48,620 cattis of pepper.
 3,800 lbs : of cloves.
 24,400 lbs : of sandal wood.
 6,100 lbs : of Caliatuure wood.⁽¹³⁾
 67,010 lbs : of powdered sugar in 309 chests.
 21,420 lbs : of Persian silk in 119 bales.
 22,192 lbs : of Bengal silk in 152 bales.
 2,336 lbs : of florette yarn in 16 bales.
 2,000 piculs of sumongis in 40 packs
 100 packages of sittauw.
 83 ditto with assorted serges.
 200 piculs of basen, in 2 chests.
 54 lbs : of camphor Baros.
 18 packages with 12,200 ray-skins.
 2 hogsheads of Spanish and $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto French wine.
 2 barrels of butter and $\frac{1}{2}$ hogshead of vinegar.
 4 barrels of beer and $3\frac{1}{2}$ awms of olive-oil.
 $5\frac{1}{2}$ awms of red wine and 8 piculs of wax.
 121 pots of cocoanut oil.
 1 case of rosewater, and 7 pots of Bengal butter.
 1,184 lbs : of almonds.
 150 lbs : of currants and 84 lbs : of raisins.

Total fl : 258,209 : 16 : 8.

Grand total of cargoes of 8 ships sent in 1672 ...
 fl : 1,948,007 : 12 : 9.

*Dagh-Register van 't
 Casteel Batavia,
 1673.*

B. 1673

In the *Experiment*.⁽¹⁴⁾

(16th May)

110,195 lbs : of Bengal powdered sugar in 805 sacks.
 21,240 lbs : of Malacca tin.
 18,030 lbs : of Siamese dyewood.
 21,900 lbs : of Bengal silk in 150 bales.

Total fl : 101,009 : 12 : 8.

In *Laeren*.

(6th June)

3 chests of black broadcloth.

(13) so called after the town of that name in Ceylon.

(14) The *Experiment* had more cargo on board for Siam, where she was to pick up some hides, as those brought lately from Siam had been found to be unfit to be sent to Japan. (D. R. p. 124.)

2 ditto of cloth-rashees.
 1 chest of crown rashees.
 892½ lbs : of quicksilver.
 834 lbs : of Vermillion.
 146 bales of Bengal silk, or 21,316 lbs :
 167 packets or 8,350 cattis of Tonquin silk.
 800 rolls of Tonquin pelangs in 2 chests.
 230 lbs : of camphor Baros.
 45,093 lbs : of powdered sugar.
 20,000 lbs : of Siamese dyewood.
 10 packs containing 3,000 ray- skins.
 68 packs of assorted serges.
 3,625 lbs : of borax.
 4,600 lbs : of sandal wood.
 3,054 lbs : of cloves.
 3,205 lbs : of nutmegs.
 30,010 cattis of black pepper.
 18,765 lbs : of tin.
 3,100 assorted Japara buffalo-hides etc :—
Total fl : 163,141 : 18 :—

In Nuysenburgh.

(6th June)

3 chests with black broadcloth.
 2 ditto with cloth rashees.
 2 ditto with crown rashees.
 308 lbs : of vermillion.
 1,130 lbs : of quicksilver.
 23,988 lbs : of alum.
 308 bales, or 44,968 lbs : of Bengal silk.
 230 packages of 11,500 cattis Tonquin silk.
 3 chests of 1,200 rolls Tonquin pelangs.
 48,440 lbs : of powdered sugar.
 320 lbs : of camphor Baros.
 13,050 lbs : of Siamese dyewood.
 3,300 cattis of yellow paint.
 84 packages of assorted serges.
 3,625 lbs : of borax.
 8,000 lbs : of sandal wood.
 14,715 lbs : of caliatue wood.
 4,252 lbs : of cloves.
 3,065 lbs : of nutmegs.
 74,740 cattis of black pepper.
 24,405 lbs : of tin.
 5,560 lbs : of gumlac.
 7,456 assorted Siamese and Japara hides.
 200 gunny bags, and 338 lbs : of momie.
Total : fl : 309,236 : 13 : 12.

In the Beemster.

(26th June)

3 chests of broadcloth.

- 2 chests of cloth rashees.
- 1 chest with crown-rashees.
- 465½ lbs: of quicksilver in 4 cases.
- 462 lbs: of vermillion.
- 1 chest with 1,120 bottles for oils.
- 1 ditto with 310 lbs: of monne.⁽¹⁵⁾
- 313 bales or 45,698 lbs. of Bengal silk.
- 200 packs or 10,000 cattis of Tonquin silk.
- 26 packs with 1,335½ cattis of Chinese silk.
- 3,500 piculs of sumongyns in 70 packets.
- 1,300 bha-en⁽¹⁵⁾ in 13 chests.
- 1 chest with 400 piculs of pelangs.
- 2,300 rolls of Hockins in 23 packs.
- 200 lbs. camphor } Baros.
- 500 lbs. benzoin }
- 24,400 lbs: of Malacca Tin.
- 6,930 lbs: of sandal wood.
- 19,285 lbs: of Siamese dyewood.
- 23,550 lbs: of calature wood.
- 10,958 lbs: of red-earth in 49 boxes.
- 86,702 lbs: of powdered sugar.
- 2,470 lbs: of cloves.
- 12,470 lbs: of Bengal cassia.
- 125 rolls of Bengal armosins in 1 pack.
- 59 packages of assorted serges.
- 984 Siamese cow and buffalo-hides.
- 28,345 cattis of black pepper.
- 1 chest with writing materials.
- 2 chests of soap.
- 1 small chest of rosewater.
- 1 chest with glass instruments.
- 2 chests and 2 pots of assorted Persian fruits.
- 2 hogsheads of Spanish wine; ½ hogshead vinegar.
- 1 barrel meat; 1 barrel bacon; 5½ awms of red wine.
- 1½ awm brandy, ½ awm olive oil.
- 2 pots of Bengal butter.
- 25 hanging locks.
- 2 bolts.
- some ship's gear etc :

Total fl: 377,725; 7: 2.

In Spanbroeck.

(26th June)

- 2 chests of broadcloth.
- 1 chest of cloth-rashees.
- 515½ lbs: of quicksilver.
- 412 lbs: of vermillion.
- 282 bales or 41,172 lbs: of Bengal silk.

- 10,100 cattis of Tonquin silk, in 202 packs.
 - 555 cattis of Chinese silk in 15 packs.
 - 2,900 piculs of sumongins.
 - 1,000 piculs of bhasen.
 - 400 Tonquin pelangs.
 - 154 lbs : of camphor Baros, and 250 lbs : benzoin.
 - 12,410 lbs : of sandalwood.
 - 17,275 lbs : of Bima sandalwood.
 - 12,320 lbs : of Caliatore wood.
 - 2,900 lbs : of borax.
 - 79,890 lbs : of Japara powder sugar.
 - 2,677 lbs : of cloves.
 - 12,470 lbs : of Bengal cassia.
 - 139 rolls of Bengal armosyn in 1 pack.
 - 150 lbs : of Bengal Saffron in a chest.
 - 46 packages of assorted serges.
 - 200 gunny bags.
 - 980 assorted cow and buffalo-hides.
 - 27,095 cattis of black pepper.
 - 32 cattis of Tonquin musk.
 - 2 hogsheads Spanish wine ; 2 barrels beer ; 3½ piculs wax.
 - 5½ awms red wine ; ½ awm olive oil ; ½ awm brandy.
 - 1 chest of medicines ; 2 teak masts.
 - 4 anchor stocks ; 4 rudders ; ship's gear etc :
 - 25 locks ; 2 bolts ; shovels ; tools etc :
- Total : fl : 298,237 : 3 : 9.*

In Buiren.

(14th July)

- 1 chest containing 7 pieces of scarlet cloth ;
- 1 chest containing lamb and swan's down ; *item* spectacles.
- 1 box with 2 mirrors.
- 201 bales or 29,346 lbs : of Bengal silk.
- 130 packs or 6,452 cattis Tonquin silk.
- 4 chests with 400 piculs of baesen.
- 50 packs or 2,500 piculs of sumongins.
- 61 packages with ray-skins.
- 498 assorted hides.
- 39,435 lbs : assorted powdered sugars.
- 7,815 cattis of sittauw.
- 8 packages of linnen.
- 9 ditto of Bengal sail-cloth.
- 2 packages of gingham.
- 19 lbs : of Borreo camphor.
- 5,530 lbs : of sandalwood.
- 1,600 bundles Java Ratans for ropes.
- 1,500 bundles or 3 tons of paddy.
- 78,215 cattis of black pepper.

37,230 lbs: of Bima sandalwood.
 1 tub of Dutch butter.

Total: fl. 197,240 : 4 : 5.

Grand total of cargoes for 6 ships sent in 1673, *c.* fl :
 1,446,600 : — : —.

Dagh-Register van't
Casteel Batavia
 1674.

C. 1674.

In the *Hasenburgh*.⁽¹⁶⁾

(April 28)

150 bales, or 21,900 lbs : of Bengal silk.
 159,963 lbs : of Bengal powdered-sugar.
 42,200 lbs : of Bima sandal wood.

Total. fl : 66,747 : 11 : 2.

In the fluyt *Iselsteyn*.

(20th June)

20 chests of assorted English cloth.
 4 chests ordinary fine cloth.
 5 chests cloth rashees.
 378 lbs : of monnie⁽¹⁷⁾ in a chest.
 286 pieces of Spanish leather in a chest.
 425 lbs : of vermilion in a tub.
 4 telescopes and prospective glasses in a box.
 1 box with assorted gifts, such as silk stuffs,
 spectacles etc :
 411 lbs : of camphor Baros in 2 chests.
 400 rolls of Tonquinese pelangs in a chest.
 301 bales of Bengal silk, weighing 45,584 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.
 9 packages of florette yarn.
 165 packages of assorted serges.
 38 packages of ray-skins.
 24,510 lbs : of caliatuure wood.
 2,070 lbs : of gumlac.
 10,157 lbs : of alum.
 20,400 lbs : of Bima dyewood.
 7,980 lbs : of sandal wood.
 180,462 lbs : of powdered sugar.
 3,055 lbs : of cloves.
 60,760 cattis of black pepper.
 8,256 $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto of Tonquin silk in 166 packs.
 1,250 sumongis in 25 packs.
 130 packages of sittauw.
 620 Japara buffalo hides.
 2 chests of Surat soap.
 1 chest of rosewater.
 1 chest with paper and writing materials.
 30 lbs : of mace and cinnamon.
 2 hogsheds of Spanish wine.

(16) via Siam, for which place she had an additional cargo worth fl : 43,510 on board.

(17) unidentified.

- 1 barrel of Dutch butter.
- 2 barrels of mom (beer).
- 1 barrel of bacon.
- 6½ hogsheads of cocoanut oil.
- 3½ awms of red wine.
- ½ awm of brandy.
- 5 piculs of wax.
- 1 barrel of pitch.
- 1 barrel of tar, and some other small ship's gear.
- 50 cattis of Tonquin musk in a chest.
- 14 telescopes.
- 1 chest with medicines.
- 40 hanging locks in a chest.
- 1 package with 42 Tonquinese piece-goods and
46 cattis of silk to be made up for the King
[of Tonquin] in Japan.

Total : fl : 349,885 : 11 : 4.

In Grootenbroeck.

(20th June)

- 20 chests of English cloth.
- 4 chests of ordinary fine cloth.
- 3 chests of cloth-rashees.
- 3 chests of crown-rashees.
- 288 pieces of Spanish leather in a chest.
- 887 lbs : of vermillion.
- 393 lbs : of camphor Baros.
- 606 cattis of yellow Tonquin paint.
- 43,810 lbs : of Caliatuure wood.
- 41,667 lbs : of Alum.
- 19,900 lbs : of Bima dyewood.
- 3,950 lbs : of sandalwood.
- 3,130 lbs : of cloves.
- 6,220 lbs : of plain rompen.
- 74,540 cattis of black pepper.
- 7,700 cattis of Tonquin silk in 154 packs.
- 750 rolls of sumongis in 15 packs.
- 150 packages of sittauw.
- 166,251 lbs : of assorted powdered sugars.
- 2,900 lbs : of borax.
- 4,035 lbs : of gumlack.
- 300 bales or 45,897½ lbs : of Bengal silks.
- 9 bales or 1,314 lbs : of florette yarn.
- 121 assorted packages of serges.
- 1 hogshead of Spanish wine.
- 2 hogsheads of arrack.
- 1 hogshead of Dutch vinegar.
- 1 barrel of Dutch butter.
- 1 barrel of mom (beer).
- 2½-awms of red wine.
- ½ awm of brandy.

6½ hogsheads of cocoanut oil.
 5 piculs of wax in two barrels.
 470 assorted Japara cow and buffalo hides.
Total. fl: 311,559 : 8 : 13

In the fluyt *Gooyland*.

(*June 20th*)

20 chests of English cloth.
 6 chests of ordinary fine cloth.
 4 chests of cloth-rashees.
 2 chests of crown-rashees.
 1 chest with 240 pieces of Spanish leather.
 432 lbs : of momie.
 879 lbs : of vermillion.
 236 lbs : of camphor Baros.
 168,589 lbs : assorted powdered sugars.
 31,300 lbs : Bima dye wood.
 6,575 lbs : of sandal wood.
 3,095 lbs : of cloves.
 6,080 lbs : of rompen.
 6,2170 lbs : of black pepper.
 960 Japara buffalo-hides.
 7,300 cattis of Tonquin silk in 146 packages.
 171½ cattis of white Chinese silk.
 150 packages of sittauw.
 950 rolls of sumongis.
 300 bales or 43,800 lbs : of Bengal silk.
 8 bales or 1,160 lbs : of Florette yarn.
 100 packages of assorted serges.
 2,175 lbs : of Bengal borax.
 4,250 lbs : of gumlac.
 16,150 lbs : of Caliatore wood.
 50 pots of Pegu namrak.
 1 chest with glass instruments.

Total: fl: 306,770 : 10 : 13.

In the fluyt *Swaenenburg*.

(*June 20th*)

7 chests containing assorted English cloth.
 2 ditto with ordinary fine black cloth.
 2 ditto with cloth-rashees.
 307 lbs : of camphor Baros, in 3 chests.
 207 lbs : of Bengal Saffron in 1 chest.
 12,200 lbs : of Ceilonese arreck.
 129,321 lbs : of assorted powdered sugars.
 150,000 lbs : of Bima dyewood.
 7,260 lbs : of sandal wood.
 55,530 battis of black pepper.
 3,090 lbs : of cloves.
 1,145 Japara buffalo's } skins.
 519 Japara antelope }
 7,000 cattis of Tonquin silk in 140 packs.

75 packs with sittauw.
 400 rolls of white Tonquin pelangs in a chest.
 249 bales or 36,509½ lbs: of Bengal raw silk.
 137 packages of assorted serges.
 27 packages of 8,100 ray skins.
 12,830 lbs: Caliatore wood; 50 pots of Pegu namrak.
Total fl: 241,603: 11: 13.

In the Saxenburgh.

(*July 14th*)

200 bales or 29,733 lbs: of Bengal silk.
 25 bales or 3,650 lbs: of Florette yarn.
 134 packages or 6,625 cattis, Tonquin silk.
 37 packages of assorted serges.
 83,500 cattis of pepper.
 7,930 lbs: of sandal wood.
 18,300 lbs: of Javanese dyewood.
 132 lbs: of camphor Baros.
 106,784 lbs: of powdered sugars.
 1,170 bundles of rattan-ropes.
 2,750 Japara buffalo-hides.
 2,725 bundles of paddy.
 26,306 lbs: of Shingalese arrecks.⁽¹⁸⁾
 2 teak masts.

Total fl: 214,885: 14: 5.

Grand total of cargoes for 6 ships sent in 1674, *c. fl:*
 1,500,000:—:—.

[APPENDIX IV]

*Dagh-Register van 't
 Casteel Batavia
 1672.*

*List of goods exported from Japan by the Dutch
 in 1672-4.*

A. 1672.

In the fluyt Buren.

(*December 19th*)

14,607 gold kobans.
 312,500 lbs: or 250,000 cattis of refined bar-copper.^(*)
 452 assorted pieces of lacquer-ware.
 1,853 assorted pieces of porcelain.
 40 cattis of tea.

(18) unidentified.

(*) "All the refined copper is cast in small cylindrical staffs about a span long, and near an inch thick. Every picul is packed up in a small box made of firr for the easier carriage. We buy likewise a small quantity of course copper, which is delivered to us cast in broad flattish round cakes, sometimes we take in some hundred Piculs, or chests of copper cash, or farthings, but not unless they be asked for at Tonquin or other places." Kaempfer, —*History*. p. 370.

5 piculs of copper bowls.
11 pots of marmalade.
26 barrels of provisions ; unused ship's gear.
Total fl : 469,581 : 3 : 6.

In the fluyt *Spanbroek*.

433,250 lbs : or 346,600 cattis of refined bar-copper.
some unused ship's gear.
Total fl : 158,324 : — : —.

In the yacht *Voorhout*.

187,500 lbs : or 150,000 cattis of refined bar-copper.
3,181½ lbs or 2,545 cattis of coarse copper.(*)
8,520,000 copper cash.(*)
600 pairs of cotton men's stockings.
60 Japanese kimonos.
25 barrels of saké ; unused ship's gear.
Total fl. 112,320 : 2 : 14.

In the fluyt *Beemster*.

(December 20th)

16,800 gold kobans.
500,000 or 400,000 cattis of refined bar-copper.
13,255 piculs of assorted porcelains.
30 pairs of silk stockings.
10 painted and gilded screens.
134 bales of various provisions.
7 more ditto and
40 planks and other unused gear.
Total fl : 112,320 : 2 : 14.

In the fluyt *Pynacker*.

16,800 gold kobans.
308,375 lbs. or 246,700 cattis of refined bar-copper.
30 bales of provisions and some unused ship's
gear.
Total fl : 512,794 : 4 :

In the fluyt *Udam*.

21,000 gold kobans.
379,132½ lbs : or 303,306 catties of refined bar-copper.
9,595 lbs : or 7,676 catties of coarse copper.
Total fl. 640,869 : 3 : 10.

In the fluyt *Stermeer*.

687,500 lbs : or 550,00 catties of refined bar-copper.
1,515 piculs of assorted porcelain.
57 bales of various provisions.
2,000 sheets of oiled paper.

50 piculs of three kinds of copper "jacquans."

Total fl: 253,340 : 3 :—

Grand total of cargoes from Japan in 7 ships, 1672,
fl: 3,141,684 : 19 : 13.

B. 1673.

In the fluyt *Buiren*.

(27th November)

11,905 gold kobans in 3 chests.⁽¹⁹⁾

411,750 lbs : of refined bar-copper in 3,294 chests.

Total fl: 434,459 : 6 : 13.

In the *Beemster*.

126,000 gold kobans.

506,250 lbs : of bar-copper in 3,250 chests.

8 lacquered and gilded screens.

606 pieces of assorted and gilt porcelain in 2 chests.

68 assorted lacquered cabinets.

50 lacquered writing tables.

12 assorted screens.

30 lacquered shields in 3 chests.

200 large porcelain vases packed in 40 straw bales.

20 small lacquered cabinets.

10,958 lbs : of red-earth returned unsold.

Total fl: 456,333 : 19 : 6.

In *Spanbroeck*.

12,600 gold kobans.

406,250 lbs : of bar-copper in 3,250 chests.

Total fl: 446,648 : 6 :—

In *Nuysenburgh*.

12,600 gold kobans.

406,250 lbs : of bar-copper in 3,250 chests.

Total fl: 446,714 : 5 : 8—

In *Laeren*.

8,400 gold kobans.

23,809,523 copper cash in 1,191 chests.

60 Japanese kimonos in 6 boxes.

100 pairs of cotton stockings in 1 box.

5,802 pieces of assorted porcelain for Batavia.

4,890 pieces of assorted porcelain for the Fatherland.

25 tubs of saké.

12 tubs of soy.

(19) In March 1673, owing to the shortage of money at Batavia, in consequence of the war with England and France, it was decided to put the Japanese gold kobans into circulation there. The rate of exchange was fixed at one koban to nine rijksdaalders, or rixdollars.

In the *Goudvink*.

8,567½ gold kobans, in 2 chests.
162,500 lbs : or 1,300 chests of bar-copper.
1 copper Japanese plate for a sample.

In the *Snaeuw*.

50,000 lbs : or 400 chests of bar-copper.
Total value of goods in these 3 ships ;—
fl : 660,773 : 8 : — :

[APPENDIX V]

*Letter of Governor-General Maetsuycker
to the Governors of Nagasaki 1675.(1)*

To the Two Governors of Nagasaki.
From His Honour the General, Jan Maetsuycker at
Jacatra [Batavia].
Petition.

It is about seventy years ago since the Hollanders received permission from Gongen Sama [Iyeyasu] to carry on commercial relations with Japan ; during all these years, Holland has not given the smallest cause for offence, and, by the continued favour of succeeding generations of the Shōgunal Government, trade has been carried on without ceasing ; likewise the magistrates and other officials particularly favoured us, whilst both Japanese and Hollander merchants drove a thriving business.

During these last three years, however, the Japan trade has been changed into an unprofitable commerce, at the whim of a single man, and the Holland Company has suffered great loss. We are now informed by one of the bugyō, that every year we send an excessive amount of goods, and for that reason we suffer loss in our business, so it behoves each one of us (Hollanders) to consider this well, and to hearken to this advice. Furthermore, although we suffered a heavy loss on the sales during the year before last, we hoped to make some sort of a profit somehow last year, but

(1) This letter has never been printed before, so far as I know. It is translated from a Japanese MSS. copy in my possession, 'probably dating from the middle of the XVIIIth century. In any case, this Japanese version agrees very closely with the Dutch original, as may be seen by comparing it with the *précis* of the latter which is printed by Dr. Nachod on p 375 of his *Beziehungen*. It is couched in a very humble style and abounds in honorifics, but I have omitted most of these as they were probably inserted by a Japanese interpreter to make the contents more palatable to the higher officials. The original does not appear to have been very humbly worded. This translation has been made with the help of Mr. Shinzo Hasegawa of Keiō University.

unexpectedly we again suffered heavy losses.

Consequently this year, not being able to make both ends meet, we have omitted to send the following articles viz :—Pepper, Tin, Alum, hides, catechuwood, musk, quicksilver, cinnabar, Spanish leather and various cotton piecegoods ; likewise we have omitted some other special articles.

These last three years, the purchaser has fixed the price, and as we have imported too many goods we have suffered loss on that account every time ; furthermore, although the Holland Company trades to all corners of the globe, we have never yet found a single (other) place where the purchaser fixes the price.

The Hollander Captain and the other Hollanders are insulted by the Interpreters who do not even consider them as human beings, so that all the rabble steal openly in front of their eyes, when we asked that they should be punished, nothing was done, and the officials treated the whole affair as a joke, laughing at the Hollanders. These matters should have been reported to the Governors by the Interpreters, and the bugyō in charge directed to investigate and punish the offenders, but in reality nothing was done. By order of the Shōgun, those Japanese who know a little Dutch, are not allowed entrance to Deshima, whilst the interpreters who are in charge of us do not speak Dutch well ; also, if we want to make a request we cannot do it as we would like to, which vexes us sorely. We beg that Hollanders may be allowed to learn a little Japanese, and we hope that such will be of use when necessary.

On account of the foregoing reasons, the Holland Company requests the favour of the Governors in reverting to the conditions under which trade was carried out thirty years ago ; furthermore we will be very grateful to them if they will stop the malpractices of the interpreters and the thieving of the lower classes.

We hesitate to ask it, but we wonder if the Shōgun and the Rōjū⁽²⁾ could be informed about these matters, whilst we should like to enjoy their favour. Accordingly, if there is anything that Japan orders Holland to do, we will gladly do it to the best of our ability,

Very humbly we make this request
28th day of the 5th month, year of the Hare, and
third year of the period Empō [May 1675].

Holland Governor-General,
Jan Maetesuycker

Offered to the two Governors of Nagasaki.

[APPENDIX VI]

Names of principal coins, weights and measures.

Money.

1 Dutch florin or guilder	= 20 stuivers.
1 stuiver	= 16 penning.
1 Ton of Gold	= 100,000 guilders.
1 Tael of silver	= 10 Maas = 100 Condrijn.
	(Value of 1 tael <i>circa</i> 1672-4 = fl. 3. 10.)
1 Gold Koban	= mostly c. Taels 6. 8.
1 Piece of Eight	= fl. 2. 10.

Weights.

10 Fun.	= 1 Momme or Maas.
10 Momme	= 1 Tael.
100 Tael	= 1 Kwan = 3,7565 Kilo.
1 Picul	= 100 Catty (Katty; catti;)
	= 60,1 Kilo.

Capacity Measure.

1 Koku	= 180,3907 Litres.
	[based on the table in Nachod's <i>Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie Zu Japan im 17 Jahrhundert.</i> p. xix].
N. B. According to Kaempfer;—	
1 picul	= 125 lbs:
1 catti	= 1½ lbs.

[APPENDIX VII]

*List of principal works consulted.***A. Documents.**

- a. From Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague.
 - (i) *Japans Dagregister (Archief Deshima) 1672.*
[copy in the Imperial Academy, Tokio].
 - (ii) *Japans Dagregister (Archief Deshima) 1673.*
[Koloniaal Archief No. 11690].
 - (iii) *Letter of Governor General and Council,
Batavia 13/11/1673.* [Koloniaal Archief No.
1181].
- b. From the India Office, London.
 - (i) *Original Correspondence, 1672 and 1673.* [cf.
especially Nos: 3852 and 3902, 1673.].

- (ii) *Peter Pratt's MS. materials for a History of Japan*, Book I, ch: IV. [typed copy supplied by courtesy of Mr. H. J. Griffiths of J. L. Thompson & Co: Kōbe.]

B. Printed works.

Dagh-Register gehouden in't Casteel Batavia. (Series of volumes for period 1641-1674; especially those for the years 1672-4). The Hague, 1887-1902.

History of Japan. by Engelbert Kaempfer. London. 1727.

Beschrijvinge van Japan. door Fracois Valentyn. Dordrecht c. 1724.

Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie zu Japan im XVII Jahrhundert. von Dr. O. Nachod. Leipzig, 1897.

History of Japan, by Professor James Murdoch. Vol. III. London, 1926.

De Oost-Indische Compagnie als Zeemogendheid in Azie (1602-1650). door N. MacLeod; Rijswijk 1927.

Economic aspects of the History of Japan. by Yosoburo Takekoshi. London, 1930.⁽¹⁾

Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa, by M. Paske-Smith, Kōbe 1903.

N.B. For those who can read Japanese, the works of Professor N. Murakami (especially the Japanese version printed in the Appendix of his edition of Cock's *Diary*) and Professor Chozo Mutō, (article in the periodical *Kaikoku Bunkwa*, Ōsaka and Tōkyō, 1929) can be added to the above lists, but I have not been able to consult these in the originals myself.

[THE END]

(1) I have only been able to consult the abridged English translation in 3 vols: of the original 6 or 7 volume Japanese edition. This is to be regretted, because the former, while containing much new and valuable material, is so full of errors and misprints as to be anything but reliable. Such gems as the Dutch and English,—“ fierce North sea tribes,” and “ Dunbar, a XVIth Century Portuguese Historian ” [for Danvers, the Superintendent of the India Office Records in London c. 1890-1900 !] are typical.

[ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA]

After this essay had gone to press, the appearance of Dr. F. W. Stapel's edition of Pieter Van Dam's monumental *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie* (Book II, Part I) enabled me to identify some of the names of commodities imported by the Dutch into Japan, as follows:—

- p. 185. *Namrak* ; a fluid black lacquer from Cambodia and Siam.
- „ *sittauw* ; a faulty way of writing *hittou*, derived from the Chinese *hi-t'ou*, the outermost silk of the cocoon, which is of coarser quality than the inner layers.
- p. 186. *rompen* ; wrinkled nutmegs, fallen from the tree before ripening.
- p. 190. *mommie* (*monne* ; *monie*) ; a sweet-scented balm from Arabia, used for medicine and in embalming corpses. In this connection the word *momie* should be substituted for *hides* on line 4 of page 200 ; the Japanese word in the original text being *momi* and not *mohi* as I first thought.
- p. 199. note (1). Professor Shigetomo Koda informs me that similar versions of this letter are printed in the 通航一覽 (Tsūkō Ichiran Vol. IV, p.p. 297-9) and 外蕃通書 (Gaiban Tsūsho in the Kondo Seisai Zenshu Vol. I, pp. 47-49) respectively. The Dutch original is transcribed on pp. 454-5 Book II. Part I of Van Dam's work (Stapel edition), from which it will be seen that the Japanese version is accurately translated. The Governor's answer is printed on p.p. 605-607 of the same work, whereby it can be seen that the Hollander's petition did not have the slightest effect.
- p. 194. line 11 for 432 read 324.
- „ „ 19 for 6,2170 read 62,170.
- „ „ 44 for battis read cattis.
- 201. „ 20 for Niederländichen read Niederländischen.
- 202. „ 11 for Fracois read François
- 202. „ 23 for 1903 read 1930.

[BOOK REVIEWS]

Proceedings of the Imperial Academy, supplement to volume VI.
A Concordance to the History of Kirishitan Missions (Catholic Missions
in Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century).
Compiled by Masaharu Anesaki, M.I.A., Office of the Academy, Ueno
Park, Tokyo, 1930.

This Concordance is published as a supplement to the published writings by Dr. Anesaki, relating to the Catholic period in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Concordance is in English and is intended to be useful in the study of four volumes published in Japanese. The four volumes, three of which have been issued, are as follows:

Volume I. *Kirishitanshumon no Hakugai to Senpu* (Extermination of the Kirishitan and their Survival). By Dr. M. Anesaki.

Volume II. *Kirishitan Kinsei no Shumatsu* (The End of Prohibition of the Kirishitan Religion). By Dr. M. Anesaki.

Volume III. *Kirishitan Dendo no Kohai* (History of the Christian Missions). By Dr. M. Anesaki.

Volume IV. *Kirishitan Shumon no Jinbutsu* (Characters of, and Events in, the Christian Missions). By Dr. M. Anesaki.

All published by the Dōbunkwan, Tokyo.

The books referred to in the preparation of the Concordance are European writings on the period, ten in number, and three Japanese writings, besides minor references. The publication of the Concordance followed from the preparation of a card index by Dr. Anesaki which he found to be useful and which led him to make the resulting indices available for use by others.

The primary object, as stated by the author, in preparing the indices was to establish identities of Japanese names, geographical and biographical, for tracing the spread of the propaganda, the courses of the persecution, connexions between the converts, the migration of the persecuted.

The plan of the work embraces a chronological table, 1549-1873, a catalogue of Persecutions and Martyrdoms, four indices which include (a) Japanese Geographical names; (b) Japanese Biographical Names; (c) Foreign names, Missionaries and Others; (d) Missions, Persecution, Customs, Words, and Miscellaneous, and an Analytical Table from the *Histoire* by Pages. There is also a map of Japan, indicating the places

where Kirishitans existed or were persecuted.

The Concordance contains 225 pages of subject matter and will prove to be indispensable to the further study of the period in Japanese History to which it relates. Without the original references at hand, the accuracy of the work cannot be estimated. Dr. Anesaki's scholarship is sufficient to assure confidence as regards the faithfulness with which the painstaking task has been carried out. In the identification of foreign and Japanese names the author has rendered an invaluable service.

The only criticism one feels inclined to offer relates to the faulty English found throughout the volume. Awkward constructions and a strange use of terms are of occasional occurrence; not, however, such as will misguide the reader. It is a matter of regret that the proof was not read, for a work of such permanent value, by a competent English scholar.

The Writings of Fabian, the Apostate Irman, by Masaharu Anesaki, M. I. A.

Confucian Refutations of Christianity in Japan in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, by Masaharu Anesaki, M. I. A.

A Refutation of Christianity Attributed to Christovao Ferreira, the Apostate Padre, by Masaharu Anesaki, M. I. A.

These are papers communicated in 1929 and 1930 to the Imperial Academy and are printed, in English, in its Proceedings.

S. H. WAINRIGHT

Raffles' Report on Japan to the Secret Committee of the English East India Company With Preface by M. Paske-Smith, C. B. E. Published by J. L. Thompson and Company Limited, Kobe, Japan.

In bringing to light these reports and this correspondence relating to early commercial intercourse between the British, Dutch and Japanese at Nagasaki Mr. Paske-Smith has done a most useful service. He has discovered a mine of information in the archives of the East India Company now preserved in the India Office in London and having delved into some of the 48,000 volumes relating to the history and activities of this great trading company during the two hundred years of its existence he has produced an instructive and interesting narrative of an important episode in the economic history of Japan.

The incident round which these documents centre was a renewed attempt of the British to establish a trading station at Nagasaki during the Napoleonic wars. In 1813 Nagasaki was the only spot in the world where the Dutch flag remained flying. Operating from Java, Raffles was

commissioned to report on the possibility of establishing British interests at Nagasaki, if necessary at the cost of ousting the Dutch.

Though Raffles never visited Japan he had no delusions about Japanese character and the methods to be employed in establishing commercial relations with them. He realised that all diplomacy should be carried on through his rivals the Dutch. Of particular interest are estimates of Japanese character made by Dr. Ainslie, the Scotchman whom Raffles appointed to conduct negotiations with the Japanese. "They appear," he reports, "free from any prejudices that would stand in the way of a free and unrestrained intercourse with Europeans—even their prejudices on the score of religion, of which exaggerated accounts are reported by the Dutch, and of which as is believed among the Japanese the Dutch have sometimes availed themselves against their rivals in the early trade of Japan, are moderate and inoffensive." Again, "they are a race of people remarkable for frankness of manner and disposition, for intelligent inquiry, and freedom from prejudice—they are in an advanced state of civilisation."

Raffles himself in an address made to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences over a hundred years ago, shows a prophetic insight into the future and destiny of the Japanese. He describes them as a "nervous, vigorous people whose bodily and mental powers assimilate much nearer to those of Europe than what is attributed to Asiatics in general . . . For a people who have had a very few, if any, external aids, the Japanese cannot but rank high in the scale of civilisation. The Chinese have been stationary as long as we have known them but the slightest impulse seems sufficient to give determination to the Japanese character which would progress until it attained the same height of civilisation with the European." The British mission failed in its objective. Had it completely succeeded it might have meant the opening of Japan to foreign intercourse fifty years earlier.

To the student of economics this volume provides instructive information on the methods of trading in those days, the profits of enterprises, and the character of the early trade which will enhance its usefulness when foreign students of economic history begin to give more adequate attention to Japan. Mr. Paske-Smith is to be congratulated on his enterprise in discovering and unearthing these records and editing them in a most careful and scholarly manner.

Asiatic Society of Japan

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1930.

The Council has continued the policy referred to in its report for the previous year of securing papers for the general meetings of the Society which would interest as large a proportion as possible of members. The papers read during the year represented in nearly every instance original research, and the Council believes that they adequately maintain the traditions of the Society in adding to the knowledge of Westerners of the culture, history and learning of the Orient.

January 29th. Annual Meeting, at the British Embassy:

“Genshin’s Paradise: A Tenth Century Buddhist Conception of the Future Life.” By Dr. A. K. Reischauer.

February 27th. At the German Club. “Modern Shinto as a State Religion.” By D. C. Holtom.

March 19th. At the German Club. “Japanese Criticisms and Refutations of Christianity in the 17th and 18th Centuries.” By Dr. M. Anesaki.

April 23rd. At the German Club. “Erasmus in Japan.” By Mr. J. B. Snellen.

May 21st. At the German Club. “The Diary of a Bakufu Official During the Negotiations at Kanagawa with Commodore Perry.” By Mr. E. H. Dooman.

October 1st. At the German Club. “John Company in Japan and Formosa.” By Mr. C. E. Boxer.

October 16th. At the German Club. “Tacho: A Typical Edokko.” By Dr. F. Starr.

November 11th. At the German Club. “Episodes in the Life of Fukuzawa, the Sage of Mita.” By Mr. W. J. Davies.

December 17th. At the German Club. “Chinese Bronzes.” By His Excellency Dr. Voretzsch.

The Council records with deep regret the death of the following members: Rev. Joseph Dahlmann, Ph.D.; Dr. J. E. de Becker; Mr. Carlo Giussani; Professor H. Nagaoka; Rev. W. Parshley; the Right Reverend Archbishop Pierre Rey; Dr. D. S. Spencer; Mr. Yoshitaro Takenobu; the Right Reverend Bishop Trollope, and Dr. M. W. Visser.

Dr. de Visser, who died on October 6th at Leyden, was Professor of Japanese in the University at that city. Dr. de Visser besides being a member of old standing of this Society, actively contributed to its work, as many of the older volumes of the Transactions testify. Originally a Classic, Dr. de Visser took his doctorate at Leyden University in 1903 with a thesis on the non-anthropomorphic deities in the Greek Pantheon. He then turned his attention to the Far East, and under the direction of de Groot studied Chinese and Japanese for three years. In 1906 he received an appointment as Student Interpreter at the Netherlands Legation in Tokyo. Here he first turned his attention to Japanese folk-lore, and most of his earlier work was along these lines. The following works date from his stay in Japan in the order of their appearance in the Transactions:

Vol. XXXVI, Part 2, The Tengu.

Vol. XXXVI, Part 3, The Fox and Badger in Japanese Folk-lore.

Vol. XXXVII, Part 1. The Dog and Cat in Japanese Folk-Lore.

Of the same period: Ignes Fatui In Japan.

In 1911 de Visser was appointed curator of the State Ethnographical Museum in Leyden. The work there was much more congenial than that of Interpreter. Under his enthusiastic leadership the Museum flourished as it had seldom done since Siebold's day. De Visser had a facile pen. He organized expositions of the Museum's almost inexhaustible supply of Japanese works of art and described them in numerous periodicals. As is apparent from his earlier studies, his interest

turned increasingly towards Buddhism. His first larger work after returning to Holland was "The Dragon in China and Japan," which had already necessitated extensive studies in that field. In the next work, "The Bodhisatva Ti Ts'and (Jizo) in China and Japan," he is still deeper in the Buddhistic field. Shinto, however, did not escape his attention, as another, though smaller, volume of that period testifies. In 1917 de Visser was appointed ordinary professor of Japanese at the Leyden University, and in 1920 a member of the Royal Academy. He was a warm-hearted personality, untiring in his efforts to guide and teach his students. He was modest as well as learned. To many of his pupils he was more a father than a professor. He was always accessible, although the demands on his time and energy were often exacting.

Throughout his life and work de Visser was handicapped by a delicate constitution. The last ten years of his life were moreover saddened by the repeated loss of very dear friends and relatives. Nevertheless in this period he found time and strength to write two other great works, "The Arhats in China and Japan" and "Ancient Buddhism in Japan." The latter work was finished and in the press when he was called away. He died, happily without pain, at the early age of 54, when making the index to his last work. The numerous students who had the privilege of hearing his lectures will always remember him as a man of rare refinement, learning and true goodness.

The Reverend Joseph Dahlmann was born at Coblenz, Germany, October 15, 1861, and joined the Society of Jesus in 1878. He studied Sanskrit and Buddhism at the Universities of Vienna and Berlin, subsequently journeying to India to study its art and culture. His interest in Oriental art brought him to China and in 1903 to Japan. After a brief stay, he returned to Germany, but in 1908 he was sent to Japan to prepare the way for the establishment of a Roman

Catholic College in Tokyo. In addition to chairs of German literature, Indo-European philosophy and Indian philosophy which he occupied at Jochi University, he taught German literature and Greek at the Tokyo Imperial University. He was obliged in recent years gradually to relinquish his teaching, and in the autumn of 1929 he began to devote himself entirely to writing. He became seriously ill last January and passed away in June. Those who knew him will long mourn the loss of an unusually sweet character.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The thanks of the Society are due to the authors for the gift of the following books:

- "Aluminum Compounds in Food," by Ernest Ellsworth Smith.
- "Travels Through Japan, Korea and China," by F. S. Fischer.
- "Nichi-Ei-Kotsushi Gaikan," by Muto Chozo.
- "Nara Cho Bukkyo no Kenkyu," by Ishida Mosaku.
- "History of Japanese Religion," by Anezaki Masaharu.
- "Kaikoku Bunka," by Muto Chozo.
- "Raffles' Report on Japan to the Secret Committee of the English East India Company," by N. Paske-Smith.

Among more than fifty periodicals received, the following may be mentioned.

- L'Academie des Sciences, Bulletin, Leningrad.
- American Philosophical Society, Proceedings.
- American Journal of Philology.
- American Oriental Society, Journal.
- Archæological Society of India, Memoir.
- Geographical Journal.
- Geological Survey of India, Memoir.
- Japan Christian Quarterly.
- Japan Chronicle.
- John Hopkins University Studies in History.

Musee Guimet.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Memoir.

Royal Anthropological Institute, Memoir.

Royal Asiatic Society, Journal.

Royal Asiatic Society, Korean, Transactions.

Royal Society of Edinburgh, Proceedings.

Bureau of American Ethnology.

Real Sociedad Geografica, Bulletin.

Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fenniciea.

United States Geological Survey, Bulletin.

United States Geological Survey, Professional Paper.

United States Geological Survey, Water Supply Paper.

United States National Museum, Bulletin.

United States National Museum, Proceedings.

Imperial Academy, Proceedings.

Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai Kiyo.

Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

Volume 9, Part 3, containing Aston's "Hideyoshi's Invasion of Korea: III," and Volume 18, Part 1, Clement's "Tokugawa Princes of Mito," of the Transactions are still missing. The Librarian desires to acquire these volumes through gift or exchange.

HONORARY TREASURER'S REPORT 1930.

RECEIPTS

To Balance brought forward at Dec. 31st, 1929	¥2,557.18	
„ Memberships:		
(a) Annual	¥1,490	
(b) Arrears	180	
(c) Life Subscrip's.	200	1,870.00
„ Transactions sold by Kyobunkwan		
Sale to Kegan Paul	364.20	
„ to members and non-members	411.50	775.70
„ Interest and Exchanges		64.00
		<u>¥5,266.88</u>

EXPENDITURES

By Management a/c	¥	287.60	
By Library a/c			
Assistant	¥	120.00	
New Year's Gift to Keio		20.00	
Premium on Ins. Policy for library			
room		11.00	
Book		15.00	166.00
„ Transactions a/c			
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1000 Copies Trns.		1,343.20	
Sundry expenses		39.48	
Discount to KBK		120.95	
Postage		101.22	1,629.85
„ Rent and meetings a/c			301.38
„ Adverse exchanges and collection fees			1.42
„ Balance c/f Fixed Deposit		700.00	
(Special C/A)		2,070.54	
(Ordinary C/A)		110.09	2,880.63
			<u>¥5,266.88</u>

MEMBERSHIPS

There have been recorded during the year 9 deaths (7 Life, 2 Annual), 7 resignations, 17 names removed from the roll on account of non-payment of dues. On the other hand 23 members (21 Annual, 2 Life Members) have been elected.

Honorary Members on Roll of Society	29
Honorary Members Living	6
Life Members	248
Annual Members	166
Libraries (Thirty-Year Membership)	29
Libraries (Annual Membership)	14
Total	<u>457</u>

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